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BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND THE PARTY SYSTEM

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It is a paradox of British politics that, while party discipline is such that no government has to depend on Opposition support in order to pursue the foreign policy of its choice, this very fact has been one reason for the normal consensus on questions of foreign policy between the two front benches. The greater the prospects of Opposition leaders forming the next government the greater the discipline they tend to exert over their ranks, and the more international realities are imposed upon the kind of fantasy-thinking to which a party denied power for many years is especially prone. These tendencies have been notable in British politics since the war; they are likely to continue, given that the Labour Party can control the forces of disruption unleashed by its recent defeat. In the five general elections since the wartime Coalition Government foreign policy issues have not merely occupied a minor role; they have been regarded by party leaders, though not always by the rank and file, as though they were primarily questions of personal qualifications for conducting policies the main outlines of which were not in dispute. At the general election in the autumn of 1959, although disagreements between Government and Opposition had undoubtedly grown since the quiet accords of 1955, the campaign turned, if on international issues at all, on the eligibility of Right or Left to represent the country in negotiations in which the likely British position was largely agreed on both sides. The Leader of the Opposition recognised that this was so, although his explanation for it was that Ministers had been forced to accept Labour's policy recommendations.[1]

I. THE CHARACTER OF CONSENSUS

On the central issue of the reality of the Soviet threat to the Western nations there is little or nothing to choose between the convictions of the two parties. Labour's position was stated as far back as 1949 and has not altered: "The world was instructed by the Czech coup that the Soviet Government would respect the democratic conventions of the West only where those conventions were protected by power and the courage to defend them."[2] As the military threat is understood on both sides of the party fence, so is the need for effective military defence against it. "On the question of Western defence and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation we start from a basis of agreement," according to a former Labour Minister of State.[3] It was under Labour that Britain in 1951 embarked on her greatest rearmament programme of recent times and initiated her separate nuclear deterrent.[4] Labour spokesmen insist that Britain's nuclear force ultimately strengthens the argument for disarmament; "unilateral disarmament," in the opinion of Philip Noel-Baker, "would mean surrendering Britain's influence in the struggle to demilitarise the world."[5]

With the rising cost of delivery vehicles and the Government's abandonment of the British missile, Blue Streak, in April 1960 Labour pressures to end the independent deterrent grew; but this was less a matter of party doctrine than of economics. Labour politicians however, generally show more concern about the human implications of nuclear weapons than has the Conservative Party collectively; the joint Labour Party-T.U.C. proposal of 24 June 1959 for forming a non-nuclear club consisting of all countries other than the United States and Russia was as much the result of genuine disquiet over the likely spread of nuclear weapons as it was an attempt to bridge divisions in the movement on the issue.[6] Moreover, Labour went on record in favour of the unilateral ending of nuclear tests for a limited period, pending an international agreement to end all tests, and the suspension of the construction of missile bases in Britain until 'summit' talks explored the possibilities of a wider understanding with Russia.[7] The Government's reply was to reject the non-nuclear club as impracticable and as implying undue confidence in the two super-Powers;[8] to agree to suspend nuclear tests while "useful" talks at Geneva on the general suspension of tests continued; and to press on with missile bases, as long as fixed bases are desirable, on the ground that it was foolish to abandon your best cards when talks with Russia seemed about to begin.[9]

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[1] As reported in *The Times*, 10 September 1959.

[2] *Labour Believes in Britain*, published by the Labour Party, 1949, p. 26.

[3] Kenneth Younger, 557 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 336 (24 July 1956).

[4] Mr. Gaitskell has said: "Our party decided to support the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb here and we decided that, quite frankly, because we did not think it right that this country should be so dependent . . . upon the U.S.A." 568 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 71 (1 April 1957).

[5] *Report of the 56th Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, Brighton, 1957, p. 175.

While these are differences within an agreed framework, attitudes towards the military efforts of the allies show somewhat greater dissimilarities. It was only in the face of the strongest opposition that German rearmament was sanctioned by the annual conference of the Labour Party in 1954, one of the most persuasive arguments of the national executive committee being that, in any case, it was no longer in Britain's hands to accept or reject and that therefore an independent party position was not available for adoption.[10] The possibility that nuclear weapons might come into German hands before the prospects of co-existing with Russia had been fully explored caused a minor crisis in the party in December 1959, when the report to the Council of the Western European Union by the Labour M.P., Fred Mulley, in favour of a single west European nuclear deterrent, was severely criticised on the ground that it contradicted party decisions not to approve any West German nuclear arms before 'summit' talks with Russia.[11] While the Conservative Party itself was almost equally opposed to German rearmament when out of office, the subject has never caused more than a ripple of protest in the party since 1951. No one opposed the resolution in favour of German rearmament at the Conservative annual conference at Blackpool in 1954, the motion being carried unanimously.[12] Nor has there been appreciable disquiet in the party at the prospect of nuclear arms forming part of West German armaments.

That British security requires, not merely national arms suited to Britain's strength, but alliances with friendly states, especially within the Atlantic area, is a second area of agreement. The Atlantic treaty was effected in 1949 under a Labour administration and Mr. Gaitskell has recently described talk of abandoning the alliance as "myopic and positively dangerous."[13] Admittedly a certain conflict has been felt in Labour's ranks between the United Nations Charter and the policy of military alliances,[14] but Labour has never accepted Soviet proposals for the simultaneous liquidation of the NATO and Warsaw pacts; these arrangements, it believes, will naturally wither away with the negotiation of reliable security agreements between the powers to cover central Europe.[15] The Conservative Party on its side has few if any misgivings over the ethics of regional military pacts, but appears to accept the Labour view, stated by the Minister for Commonwealth Relations in 1949, of NATO as a "stop-gap and a stop-gap only."[16] There is very little enthusiasm on the Right for giving a more permanent constitutional framework to NATO. Both Labour and Conservative groups have ignored President de Gaulle's vaguely developed suggestion for a change in NATO's structure so as to give formal paramountcy to the three major Atlantic Powers. At the same time both sides accept the value to British policy of the intimate association between Britain and the United States which has grown up since 1940. This can best be furthered, in the view of both parties, by leaving the institutional form of NATO as it is.

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[6] For the text see *The Times*, 25 June 1959; also Mr. Bevan's statement, 608 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 1394 (8 July 1959). In a statement circulated by the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War during the election campaign in the autumn of 1959 it was estimated that 33 Labour M.P.s in the previous Parliament were sympathetic towards unilateral British nuclear disarmament; *The Times*, 26 September 1959.

[7] *Labour's Foreign Policy*, published by the Labour Party, 1958, p. 3. Mr. Gaitskell has emphasised the qualifications attached to these undertakings; 577 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 474 (8 November 1957) and *ibid.*, 582 Col 1235 (19 February 1958). Mr. Bevan was less cautious; *ibid.*, 604 Col 915 (27 April 1959).

[8] Selwyn Lloyd in a television broadcast, 21 September 1959; *The Times*, 22 September 1959.

[9] Harold Macmillan, 582 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 1520 (20 February 1958).

[10] Denis Healey quoted a Bevanite pamphlet: "it is unhappily not within the power of British Labour alone, even when it succeeds to Government, to decide on the future of Germany." *Report of the 53rd Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, Scarborough, 1954, p. 101; also Herbert Morrison, *ibid.*, p. 107. The executive's resolution was carried by 3,270,000 votes to 3,022,000.

[11] *The Guardian*, 16 December 1959.

[12] National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, 74th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 1954, *Official Report*, p. 35. For the Conservative attitude in 1949–50 see Leslie Hunter, *The Road to Brighton Pier* (London, 1959), p. 73.

[13] As reported in *The Times*, 13 July 1959.

[14] A favourite theme of the leftist Konni Zilliacus; 543 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 358 (28 June 1955); 549 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 862 (27 February 1956).

[15] *Labour's Foreign Policy*, 1958, p. 4, where it

The provision for military defence and the structure of pacts are conceived by the parties, not to diminish Soviet influence, nor to keep the East-West position stabilised, but the better to negotiate a *modus vivendi* with the Communist bloc. It is true to say that, following the NATO heads of government meeting in Paris in December 1957, the chief pressure for 'summit' talks with Russia came from the Opposition, which took every opportunity to harass the Government on the subject during 1958.[17] Partly in consequence of this, by the middle of that year the idea of a 'summit' meeting within the framework of the United Nations was almost unanimously accepted on both sides of the House.[18] At the same time, Conservative spokesmen have been conspicuous on their own account since the war for readiness to meet and talk with the Russians—Churchill leading the way in this respect—while insisting that hastily prepared conferences might do more harm than good. It was in fact on the basis of the forthcoming Geneva 'summit' conference of 1955 that the Conservative Government successfully went to the polls in May of that year. Hence at the general election in October 1959 neither side doubted the readiness of the other to negotiate if returned to power. In the Prime Minister's words, "the desire of everyone in Britain for the 'summit' is clear and has never been and cannot be an issue at this election."[19] In the campaign the international question was not the desirability of a 'summit' meeting, nor the kind of propositions to be put forward there on Britain's behalf, but the equipment, including in particular the habitual mental attitudes, of either side as potential occupants of the 'summit' seat. Labour's view was that this task called for 'forward-looking' notions, such as the renunciation of force and international lawlessness,[20] while the Conservatives described Labour leaders either as inexperienced, or as having played no part in the alleged improvement in the international atmosphere following from Macmillan's excursion to Russia, or as too hampered by party dissensions to be able to negotiate effectively with either allies or Communists.[21]

As for the subjects on which negotiations with the Russians might take place, both sides have been agreed on giving high priority to all-round disarmament under international control. It is significant that the plan presented to the 10-nation commission in Geneva on disarmament in March 1960 on behalf of the Western Powers was based on the scheme presented to the United Nations by Selwyn Lloyd; it contained a Fabian-like proposal for creating an international force as a repository for discarded arms as the disarmament agreement came into effect. There is no evidence that since they have been in office the Conservatives have been dissuaded by anything in the way of ideological prejudice from giving a fair scrutiny to Soviet disarmament proposals. The first reaction of the Government to the conciliatory Soviet arms scheme of 10 May 1955 was favourable.[22] It is not yet known whether its ultimate rejection and the decision taken by the West to begin on a new tack in the autumn of 1955 were on British initiative or in the face of British disapproval. On the other side, there is no evidence to show that Labour was ready, at any time during its two administrations of 1945–51, to risk national security in order to obtain a disarmament agreement acceptable to the extreme Left, or that it would be willing to run such risks in future. To be sure, there has

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is assumed that NATO will remain in being even after the retirement of NATO forces from Germany which the Labour Party advocates.

[16] Philip Noel-Baker, 464 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 2127 (12 May 1949).

[17] *Ibid.*, 582 Cols 1213–1524 (19 and 20 February 1958).

[18] *Ibid.*, 592 Cols 227–355 (22 July 1958).

[19] *The Times*, 6 October 1959.

[20] *The Times*, 23 September 1959, on the Labour election manifesto.

[21] Mr. Macmillan in a speech at Manchester, 22 September 1959; *The Times*, 23 September 1959.

[22] The Minister of State, Anthony Nutting, said: "I consider that the Soviet change of heart and attitudes represents an important and encouraging step forward"; 542 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 273 (13 June 1955).

been far more support in Labour's ranks for the form of geographical disarmament known as disengagement. Since 1956 Labour advocacy of a mutual withdrawal of forces from the facing lines in central Europe, to precede rather than follow a general European political settlement, has been growing, culminating in the plan officially adopted by the party in 1958. The suggestion was that, in return for a Soviet military withdrawal from East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, NATO forces might be retired from West Germany, both operations being under international control.[23] In the opinion of the authors of the plan this would involve neither the dissolution of NATO nor the total withdrawal of United States forces from Europe.[24]

The Government refused to accept the proposal for disengagement and even deprecated the use of the word. But the manner in which this was done suggested that they had not a little sympathy with the idea.[25] The knowledge that disengagement was frowned upon by many NATO military commanders and was intensely feared by Konrad Adenauer and the C.D.U. must have served to discourage any initial disposition of Ministers to favour disengagement, for which there was nevertheless respectable Conservative precedent in the proposal for thinning out forces in Europe which Sir Anthony Eden presented to the Geneva 'summit' meeting in July 1955. When the disengagement doctrine was debated in the House of Commons in April 1959 Aneurin Bevan said that much depended on the manner in which it was outlined to the allies, from whom the chief objections came.[26] It was no doubt the Government's acceptance of this assumption which caused them to shrink from the radical scheme proposed by Labour and to prefer the modest proposal for a ceiling on arms in central Europe, combined with provision for local inspection, which Macmillan took with him to Moscow. Even this encountered intense criticism in Federal Germany, where the dread of disengagement, with its attendant risk of an American retirement from Europe, inspired the Chancellor's allegation in September that the Prime Minister had sympathised during his election campaign with the Rapacki plan for a denuclearised zone in central Europe.[27] This Macmillan never did. But, as Lloyd George is said to have done in another connection at the election in 1918, he tended to shout opposition to disengagement while whispering qualifications to his dislike.

On the other main subject of East-West negotiations, Germany, including the problem of Berlin, party positions have tended to draw together on short-term aspects while ranging more widely apart on the more distant possibilities. There was, for instance, no difference between the two front benches on the unacceptability of Khrushchev's proposal of 27 November 1958 that west Berlin should be converted into a free city.[28] The Opposition sympathised with the Government's efforts towards an interim solution of the Berlin issue at the Foreign Ministers' conference in summer 1959, though they felt that Selwyn Lloyd might have gone somewhat further in accepting some dilution of the West's position, always providing that the substance of Western rights was unchanged.[29] German unity itself, however, and the methods of achieving it, have been differently conceived on Right and Left. While the Government, in common with Secretary Dulles, gradually retreated from their view at the Geneva Four-Power meetings in 1955 that free elections on a nationwide basis must be the first step towards German unity, they continued to insist that a united Germany must be free to join NATO, though NATO forces would not enter what is now East Germany even if Germany decided to join the Atlantic alliance.[30] The Opposition held that this was unrealistic and ruled out all possibility of agreement on the subject with Russia.[31] In Labour's view the key to the German question is, first, the agreed withdrawal of Warsaw pact and NATO forces from Germany and the three satellite states, to be followed by a mutual security pact between the Four Powers and Germany providing for non-aggression and disarmament.[32] There has been dispute within the Labour Party as to whether a united Germany should be neutralised by agreement between the Four Powers, the view of the national executive on this having always been unfavourable.[33] The Government, while less specific about the path to German unity, has never doubted that a neutralised Germany would be a factor of instability in Europe. As Macmillan put it on one occasion, "if Germany is to be neutral and unarmed, who is going to keep her unarmed? If she is to be neutral and armed, who is going to keep her neutral?"[34] But these differences over the more hypothetical central European future are perhaps less significant than the immediate reaction of the two parties to the Soviet threat to Berlin.

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[23] *Labour's Foreign Policy*, 1958, p. 4.

[24] Mr. Gaitskell said: "Provided that the American Government thought the plan worth while, there is no reason on earth why this should involve the withdrawal of all American forces from Europe"; 600 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 568 (19 February 1959). Also Mr. Bevan to the same effect, *ibid.*, 596 Col 1391 (4 December 1958).

[25] Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Minister of State, said: "As for the way in which we shall deal with disengagement, that is a matter upon which we shall have to work out a common line with our allies," *ibid.*, 582 Col 1339 (19 February 1958); also Selwyn Lloyd, *ibid.*, 582 Cols 1429, 1431 and 1432 (20 February 1958). The Prime Minister said on 20 February 1958: "I am not prepared . . . to put forward a scheme of this kind (*i.e.*, disengagement) until it is agreed in detail with all the countries most affected among our Allies"; *ibid.*, 582 Col 1579.

[26] *Ibid.*, 604 Col 920 (27 April 1959).

[27] *The Times*, 15 September 1959.

[28] Mr. Bevan, 596 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 1384 (4 December 1958).

[29] Mr. Bevan, *ibid.*, 608 Cols 1382–5 (8 July 1959).

[30] Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Minister of State, *ibid.*, 600 Cols 575–8 (19 February 1959).

Finally, the last few years have seen on both sides of the House a mistrust of any close economic or political integration in Europe and an unwillingness to submerge British sovereignty in the movement towards a unified western Europe. Labour followed with sympathy the Government's abortive proposal for a European Free Trade Area, which would have kept tariff policy in member-nations' hands whereas the Common Market unifies it, and adopted much the same *faute de mieux* attitude towards the Free Trade Association convention of Stockholm, while accusing Ministers of not dealing 'positively' enough with the Six.[35] While each party has at various times since 1945 charged the other with indifference towards Europe, and groups within both parties have occasionally flirted with the idea of a Third Force in western Europe, led by Britain, strong motives have united the parties in retaining British independence as long as possible. Hence the formula for British relations with liberal democratic Europe devised by Ernest Bevin, namely close inter-governmental cooperation short of executive unification, has been inherited and practised by Conservative successors. This attitude reflects, for both parties, first, the acceptance of the United States as the special international partner of Britain, accompanied by the complacent idea that only Britain, unentangled with Europe, can keep the United States to the path of diplomatic wisdom; and, secondly, the adoption by the Left as well as the Right of the Commonwealth as the unique British contribution to world politics.[36] The attachment of Conservatives to the Commonwealth calls for no explanation. Apart from their doctrinal objections to purposefully created international bodies, Conservatives are apt to see in European unity a threat to the British world position which the Commonwealth, after the loss of Empire, has redeemed. For Labour, on the other hand, the Commonwealth idea allows long repressed national pride to express itself while embodying enlightened notions of self-determination and equality of states. But, whatever the motives, European unity, because it is so close at hand, divides the two British parties least of all the issues discussed.

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[31] Alfred Robens, *ibid.*, 549 Col 848 (27 February 1956); Mr. Bevan, *ibid.*, 596 Col 1387 (4 December 1958); Mr. Healey, *ibid.*, 604 Col 1015 (27 April 1959).

[32] Alfred Robens gave an early formulation in the Commons on 23 July 1956; *ibid.*, 557 Col 60. Mr. Gaitskell described the five-point Labour plan for Germany on 19 February 1959 as follows: (i) the withdrawal of foreign forces from this area, including the three satellite states, (ii) a plan for the reunification of Germany, (iii) a plan for the establishment of a specific disarmament zone covering these five territories with full control, (iv) a plan for a mutual security pact, underwritten by the great powers, (v) a plan for the withdrawal of Germany from NATO and of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland from the Warsaw pact; *ibid.*, 600 Col 566.

[33] *In Defence of Europe*, published by the Labour Party, 1954, p. 13. The N.E.C. accepted an annual conference resolution on German unity in 1952 while one proposing German neutralisation was remitted to the executive; *Report of the 51st Annual Conference*, Morecambe, 1952, pp. 119, 142.

[34] Quoted by Mr. Nutting, 542 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 714 (15 June 1955).

[35] See the speech by Roy Jenkins, *ibid.*, 615 Cols 1073–1084 (14 December 1959).

[36] Harold Wilson said in a debate on the Stockholm convention on 14 December 1959: "I say to the right hon. Gentleman" (the President of the Board of Trade), "'Do not give all your thoughts to Europe.' If one tenth of the energy which the right hon. Gentleman—and we commend him for his energy—has put into the European Free Trade Association had been devoted to strengthening inter-Commonwealth markets and aiming at creating a Free Trade Area for the Commonwealth, we might have been in a stronger position today"; *ibid.*, 615 Cols 1163–4.

II. SOURCES OF CONSENSUS

In considering the reasons for inter-party consensus on foreign policy a distinction has to be drawn between conditions external to the two parties and those which are inherent in the way in which the parties have developed since the war. Of the former by far the most important is the diminution in British world power, measured by the contraction of overseas commitments and abandonment of primacy among the *status quo* Powers. However unresentfully this change has been accepted by British opinion, the two parties could not but share a desire to preserve such freedom of action as remained to the country. Many of the internal conflicts suffered since the war by Labour, the less cohesive of the two parties, have been due to the clash between national pride, ruffled by Britain's declining position, and the traditional internationalism of the Left. The party hotly repudiated Suez; but the nationally humiliating associations of Suez, together with the popularity of Eden's decision in the country, restrained its leaders from exploiting this episode to the full in the 1959 election. Labour has been torn by guilt and anxiety over the H-bomb; but the assumption that the world would be a worse place if Britain's voice went unheard converted the majority to Bevan's plea that, without the bomb, a British Foreign Secretary would be "naked in the conference chamber."[37] Equally, Labour's pride in the social advances of 1945–51, not without its patriotic overtones, induced nervousness about organic links with countries across the Channel, contrasting with internationalist tendencies of the movement.

Conservatives likewise have been inhibited by national pride from indulging in the natural biases of their foreign policy conceptions. They bitterly criticised what they regarded as American attempts to dictate to Britain principles of free trade and European union during the period of Labour rule.[38] They delighted in Macmillan's apparent ability to enter into intimate terms with the head of the Communist bloc. Cost what it might in ideological consistency, they sought to keep Britain's hands free and her voice heard. This desire to preserve British independence in an international context in which sovereignty, even for the greatest powers, is becoming more formal than real cannot but imply considerable limitation in choice of policies. If neither Labour nor Conservative Party will suffer Britain to play second fiddle to either the United States, Russia or western Europe, there is a dearth of strictly party tunes for either to propose for a British solo.

These external factors exist in the background of the politician's mind. The foreground consists of the often painful adaptation of both parties to present-day facts. The stiff categories of Labour thought were an early victim to reality.[39] The United States has not acted like the capitalist state imaged in primitive Socialism. Massive retaliation, anti-Communist hysteria, American support for Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and (in the 1950s) Syngman Rhee, American impatience with the nuclear test conference, were true to the stereotype; while E.R.P., American attitudes during the Suez crisis, Eisenhower's recent sympathy towards the neutralists and his call for aid to the underdeveloped countries, have confused the simple outlines. The same was true for Russia's image. Whereas, throughout the grim negatives of Stalin's rule, Labour's Left extremists continued to hope for the best, Khrushchev's apparent benevolence, in coinciding with Conservative government in Britain, has all but ruined the thesis that democratic Socialism is the best diplomatic card to play with Khrushchev's tempered Communism. Accordingly, the less Socialist the Labour Party becomes the more emphasis it gives to its respect for international law as entitling it to speak for Britain. Yet Khrushchev's Russia is itself no model of international legality, leaving it uncertain just what is the happiest spirit in which to approach talks with Russia.

If Russia has not acted according to Left categories, neither has Communist China. Labour's argument[40] that the enforced isolation of China, like that of Russia after 1917, bred despotism within and acquisitiveness outside was unexpectedly strengthened when Peking turned, in 1959, first against Tibet, then against India. China's destruction of the Bandung accords completed, for Labour, the confusion of ideological alignments in the world. Hence, in place of the large-scale outlines of the world scene—symmetrical, doctrinally satisfying—which Labour formerly heard from a Laski or a G. D. H. Cole, have come the circumspect expedients for moderating the Cold War in which Gaitskell's skill is shown.

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[37] *Report of the 56th Annual Conference of the Labour Party*, Brighton, 1957, p. 181.

[38] An account is given by Leon D. Epstein in *Britain—Uneasy Ally* (Chicago, 1954), pp. 57–63.

[39] Norman Mackenzie, editor of the symposium of young British Socialists, *Conviction* (London, 1958), has written (*ibid.*, p. 13): "The Left was without a simple integrated answer to world problems. The world was divided into two systems of power, and that division cut right across the old lines of belief . . . it was possible to embrace neither side."

[40] As stated by Mr. Bevan, 594 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 342 (30 October 1958).

Conservative mental adjustments, bringing the party towards the middle ground of agreement with Labour have been less painful because the Right in Britain is much less voluble than the Left and does less of its re-thinking in public. But the Conservative adoption of most of the implications of a popular foreign policy has been hardly less striking than Labour's pruning of its theoretical axioms. In standard Conservative thought foreign policy should possess a Rankean primacy, to which internal considerations are subordinate.[41] But elections cannot be won on that basis; the temptation has therefore been for Macmillan to stand orthodoxy on its head and place first the maintenance of satisfying domestic conditions, letting foreign policy run its course between this limit and the more inescapable demands of the international scene. This temptation has never led to the neglect of British interests; it was conspicuously ignored at the time of Suez, when electoral considerations were apparently heeded least of all by the Prime Minister. But the call for disarmament, the tendency to retire behind the shelter of nuclear weapons, the insistence that agreement with Russia is possible if talking goes on long enough, the unrelaxed effort to exploit the improvement in international affairs which seemed to spring from the Berlin crisis of November 1958, indicated that Conservative Ministers were thinking less of the classic axioms of power politics and more of a quiet life for Britain. Throughout the diplomatic negotiations of 1959 and early 1960 they consistently sought middle positions between Moscow and Washington which the extreme Left had cultivated in Bevin's time. Their object seemed to be the tranquillity which the British voter needed for the savouring of the "better life under the Conservatives."

But the most unnoticed factor tending to bring the views of the two parties closer together on foreign affairs has been the greater cohesiveness of the party machines, with resulting greater mastery over intra-party dissent exerted by leaders on both sides. The classic instance on the Right has been the gradual subordination of the "Suez group" by Ministers from 1954 onwards. In that year the last flicker of opposition to the G.A.T.T. was snuffed out by the platform, and in the same year, although the "Suez group" voted against the agreement with Egypt to retire British forces from the Suez Canal base, the withdrawal was effected none the less.[42] Undoubtedly the "Suez rebels" rejoiced in Eden's armed action in 1956, but they were never strong enough to force the Government's hand in an action of this kind, in which it was almost certain to lose support equally, if not more, powerful on its liberal flank. Since 1956 the only substantial revolt on the Right was the resignation of the Marquess of Salisbury as Lord President of the Council over the release of Archbishop Makarios in March 1957; but this did not modify the party's self-congratulatory mood over the subsequent settlement in Cyprus.

On the Labour side, while internal divisions have been a distinct electoral drawback, there is no question that on the most vital issues the leadership has had its way. Bevin was harassed but never frustrated by the Left extremists in 1945–50. Neither was Attlee over rearmament in 1951 nor over German rearmament in 1954, when Labour was out of office and no election impended. Until this year Gaitskell has succeeded in holding his party to support of the independent nuclear deterrent. If that policy is now under attack this is less because party control has weakened than because the deterrent itself is in doubt. With the electoral defeat of 1959 old fissures re-opened for the Labour Party. Thus far, however, the ensuing controversy has turned less on foreign policy than on the party's common ownership principles.

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[41] The order of priorities in Conservative policy was given by Sir Anthony Eden in 1952 as follows: "First, to secure for our country peace through strength. . . . Secondly, to restore to our country economic stability and a surer solvency and prosperity. Thirdly, to build within our country a society in which prosperity and power . . . are shared and widely spread among the whole people"; quoted in *The New Conservatism*, Conservative Political Centre (London, 1955), p. 59.

[42] Mr. Head, Secretary of State for War, warned the "Suez group" in the debate that "if they voted against the Government they would find that they had not merely voted against their own party but, in my opinion a more serious matter, against their own common sense"; 531 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 731 (29 July 1954). 27 Conservative M.P.s voted against the agreement. For an analysis of the disciplinary action taken by the local party organizations against M.P.s of both parties who deserted their leaders on crucial votes on the Suez issues after the military intervention in 1956, see Leon Epstein, "British M.P.s and Their Local Parties," this REVIEW, Vol. 54 (June, 1960), p. 374.

III. AREAS OF DISPUTE

With these points of agreement on foreign policy in mind, it is now appropriate to consider the more important differences between the two parties. As between acknowledged leaders, these differences were least in 1945–51, when controversy raged between Labour's front bench and dissident M.P.s, with many of the constituency parties behind them, while the two front benches were at one in the opening phases of the Cold War. They remained marginal for at least five years after the Conservative victory in 1951, intra-party discords on the Left being intensified meanwhile by rearmament and British frictions with the United States on Far Eastern policy. From 1956 until the election in 1959 inter-party differences were revived, largely owing to the challenge to Labour internationalism offered by the Suez crisis and the healing of the breach in the Labour Party when Bevan became Gaitskell's lieutenant in 1957. At present material inter-party differences are distinguished from areas of agreement in their remoteness from immediate issues and in their origins in affairs distant from the European scene. Differences, that is, are least where immediate European questions of practical import are under discussion, as for example British relations with the Common Market. They are greatest on non-European questions of a general character, as for instance the role of the uncommitted peoples.

The three major areas of dispute illustrate the point. There is, first, the fundamental divergence between Left and Right on the causes of international conflict. Socialists and Labourites have inherited the old Liberal theory that, but for unresolved social tensions within states, the world would be free from international frictions. Labour foreign policy therefore tends to be conceived as promoting universal welfare and social equality. "The basis of my foreign policy," Ernest Bevin said, "is that the downtrodden of all the lands shall be assisted."[43] Hence comes the heavy emphasis laid by Left-wing thought on foreign aid and the raising of the levels of the backward countries. The underlying premise is that any well-fed democratic community has little incentive towards fighting. Conservative views are in sharpest contrast. There is, first, the repudiation of formulae of the poverty-equals-war type as remedies against evils with deep roots in man's imperfections. "While concerning itself with improvement (Conservatism) never forgets that a very considerable part of human effort and energy must always be expended in preventing things from getting worse . . . a theory of progress is a delusion unless it is accompanied by a proper awareness of the ever-present forces of degeneration which afflict man's imperfect will."[44] The object of foreign policy accordingly must be the modest one of keeping the ship of state off the rocks, while never hoping to redesign nature so as to ensure permanently calm seas, even if they were desirable. Discipline and force are the last resort of statesmen; though international organs may soften the clash of national wills, they cannot abolish it.

But certain qualifications must be made. The postwar recognition among Western liberals of the fact of power in international affairs, as a goal of policy and a limit to what any one state can hope to do, has not passed the Labour Party by.[45] While Labour spokesmen are still more attracted by desirabilities than by possibilities in foreign policy, the effect of party debate on the H-bomb has been to impress leaders, whether rightly or wrongly, with the idea that Britain's influence is a function, not merely of uprightness, but of the contribution she makes to the common defence. This lesson is not likely to be unlearned. On the Conservative side, while Defence has always been regarded as the first call on the foreign affairs budget, there has lately been a firm acceptance of foreign aid as a necessary complement.[46] This took the form at the 1959 election of a Conservative promise of a "substantial increase" in the British contribution to SUNFED, a commitment no doubt intended to rival Labour's undertaking to spend an average of one per cent of the national income on foreign aid if returned to power.[47] Similarly, the voices in the Conservative Party which define

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[43] Quoted in *Forward From Victory*, published by the Fabian Society (London, 1946), p. 80.

[44] R. J. White (ed.), *The Conservative Tradition* (London, 1950), p. 3.

[45] "An understanding of the power element in politics is the first necessity for a sound foreign policy," Denis Healey wrote in *New Fabian Essays*, ed. by R. H. S. Crossman (London, 1952), p. 161.

[46] The former Minister of Defence, Duncan Sandys, has said: "Two things must be brought about. The first is disarmament, and the second is the raising of the living standards of the populations of Africa and Asia"; National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, 78th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 1958, *Official Report*, p. 119.

[47] *The Times*, 12 September 1959, giving the text of the Conservative manifesto, *The Next Five Years*.

Communism primarily as an economic threat, to be met by assistance to the poverty-stricken areas of the world, have swollen to a chorus.[48] The same is true of the growing tendency of Conservative politicians to stress the propaganda conflict, which the West must study how to win.[49] The decline in Conservative faith in the primacy of force is thus well marked.

The second area of difference concerns the role of such instruments for regulating international relations as the United Nations. The Labour Party's view has always been that such organs purify and temper independent national actions. Thus the party has acquiesced in rearmament, military pacts for the containment of the Soviet Union, even the admission of Federal Germany to the armed company of the Atlantic Powers, all under the rubric of "Collective Security," this expression thereby acquiring a somewhat different meaning from what was intended during the League of Nations period.[50] So long as German rearmament was described as a "contribution to Collective Security" it was possible for Labour's annual conference to agree to it in 1954.[51] The basic assumption in Labour thought that the joint opinion of many states is superior to the opinion of any one state is manifest in Gaitskell's view that no member of the United Nations should set itself against a preponderant majority of the General Assembly; that it should never use force except in self-defence or unless in obedience to U.N. recommendations; and that it should always take contentious issues to the Assembly.[52] In much the same spirit the Labour Party has pledged itself to accept without reservation the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, without however making clear whether, if the plaintiff state insists, Britain should be bound to refer every case to the Court.[53] The anxiety to act strictly within the U.N. Charter, generously interpreted, is evident throughout.

The Conservatives have never had impressive faith in international organs for the maintenance of law and order.[54] Since Suez, however, support for the United Nations has been growing in Conservative ranks as it is realised that the organisation, in some form, is a permanent feature of the international landscape and the cost to a country of publicly flouting U.N. duties or recommendations is seen to be greater, in many cases, than any advantage to be derived from doing so. Conservative Ministers make their bow towards the United Nations but their disposition is to think of that organ as one of the components in the whole context in which a nation's foreign policy is made, rather than as a promise of a new order between nations.[55] The U.N. exists, and will discuss national policies and adopt resolutions which shape opinion; consequently the aim, in Conservative eyes, must be to see that the British case at the U.N. never goes by default and that it is as good as contrivance can make it. Britain has suffered too much from Communist and Afro-Asian criticism in the United Nations for that body to be regarded with positive affection by Conservative opinion, and in any event "progress in improving East-West relations is an essential preliminary" to building up the U.N.'s strength and influence.[56] For these reasons the British Conservative is generally not anxious to alter the basic structure or procedures of the U.N. lest the effect be to strengthen its influence over its members' policies. Labour likewise has shown no strong wish to amend the U.N. Charter, apart from some support in the movement for making India a permanent member of the Security Council. But the reason in this case is the contrary one, namely that the organisation's influence over members' policies is likely to be the greater, the more modest its formal objects and methods remain.

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[48] At the 1950 Conservative conference at Blackpool Lt. Col. T. E. R. Rhys-Roberts, moving the resolution on Communism, said: "we must remove forever the economic conditions in which this political vision grows. Want and misery foster Communism." A subsequent speaker, John Gower, opposing legislation to curb Communism, said: "if you get on with tackling your housing problem, if you solve the problem of unemployment, if you are able to go forwards abolishing want and misery . . . you will win away from (Communism) the mass of the people"; National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, 71st Annual Conference, *Official Report*, pp. 39, 42.

[49] See Anthony Head in foreign affairs debate on 16 July 1958; 591 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Col 1287.

[50] Emanuel Shinwell at the 1956 annual conference: "If you do not stand by the principle of Collective Security, which means providing for a measure of defence, if you go to the country and say that we should abandon our defences, you will be laughed completely out of court"; *Report of the 55th Annual Conference*, p. 148.

[51] Emergency resolution moved by Mr. Attlee; *Report of the 53rd Annual Conference*, p. 92.

[52] "It is part of the international order which the Charter seeks to create that nations do not decide for themselves questions in which their own interest is involved." The Godkin Lectures at Harvard, published as *The Challenge of Coexistence* (London, 1957), p. 17.

[53] *Labour's Foreign Policy*, 1958, p. 2.

[54] A typical resolution on the U.N. was carried by an overwhelming majority at the Conservative annual conference in 1957: "This conference, while fully supporting the principles and objects of the U.N.O., recognises that the vital interests of Great Britain must always remain the permanent consideration in the conduct of foreign affairs by H.M. Government." National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, 77th Annual Conference, *Official Report*, p. 26.

[55] In the words of John Boyd-Carpenter, "(Conservatives) do not deceive themselves into the belief that membership of either body (the League or the U.N.) absolves them from the need to have a foreign policy of their own or to provide for their own defence. They regard them as being rather extensions of that policy and part of that defence." *The Conservative Case* (London, 1950), p. 16.

But by far the most important issue at present dividing the two parties concerns relations with the peoples of Africa and Asia.[57] This subject happily provides the Labour Party with a field in which Socialist principles, so hard to apply with satisfaction to the East-West problem, appear to march along with emerging realities as the practitioner of *Realpolitik* sees them. The burden of the Left's charges against their opponents is not so much imperialism or oppressive colonial rule, but inability to comprehend the facts of life outside Europe today, and particularly the alleged failure of the Conservatives to grasp the movement of the pivot of world politics towards Africa and Asia. In Labour eyes, Conservatives may be humane and well-meaning people, but emotional residues of imperialism prevent them from seeing that the uncommitted nations must be treated as equals, as in fact Socialist theory prescribes, or they will fall under Communist control and the world balance of power will be lost.[58] This criticism is more sharp and unqualified as regions of Africa and Asia more distant from Europe come under discussion.

In the Middle East Labour has tended to side with the Arab nationalism expounded by President Nasser, which it tends to identify with its own struggle against class privilege in Britain; whereas Conservatives, though recently more ready to admit the inescapability of Arab nationalism as a fact to be accepted and worked with, look suspiciously on Nasserism as disturbing to established British interests in the Middle East and subversive in Africa. The Labour Party, after at first welcoming the Turco-Iraqi Pact of 1955 and the Bagdad Pact which was evolved from it,[59] later condemned it as a contrivance for dividing and ruling the Arab world;[60] denounced efforts to uphold regimes such as that of King Hussein of Jordan against nationalist unrest;[61] and proposed the diversion of a proportion of oil revenues to finance an economic plan for the region, coupled with an agreement with the Soviet Union "to withdraw the area from Cold War politics." But, while the Conservative Party's attitude towards Arab nationalism has been coloured by British interests in oil, strategic positions and communications, Labour's view has been complicated by the attachment to Israel. While Labour has advised the Government to "come to terms with Arab nationalism," it has at the same time proposed a security pact with Israel, the sale of British weapons to that country and the strengthening of the Tripartite Agreement of 1950 in order to ensure Israel's frontiers—the effect of all of which must have been to protect the chief abrasive of Arab intransigence.[62] The example illustrates how determinate interests, such as Israel, which are embodied in the Labour movement without having any obvious Socialist bearing, other than broad humanitarian appeal, serve to complicate the formulation of Labour foreign policy towards the non-European world.

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[56] From the Conservative election manifesto, *The Next Five Years*, published in *The Times*, 12 September 1959.

[57] A former Labour Minister of State, Kenneth Younger, has said that "for all the Western Powers who have colonial responsibilities to put their colonial houses in order is perhaps the top priority in their international and world policy." 549 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Cols 949–950 (27 February 1956). Mr. Gaitskell told the Commons in July 1956: "The focal point of such struggle as may exist between Communism and the free world is likely more and more to be in the so-called uncommitted areas of the world," *ibid.*, 557 Col 226 (23 July).

[58] Mr. Bevan: "I do not say Mr. Macmillan is a bad man. I do not say the Conservatives are evil people. What I say is that they have not quite grown up. They are politically immature. They have been brought up in ways which are now outmoded." *The Times*, 25 September 1959.

[59] The U.K. accession to the Turco-Iraqi Pact was agreed to by the Commons without a division on 4 April 1955. 539 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Cols 834–903; see also *ibid.*, 547 Col 833 (12 December 1955).

[60] Alfred Robens, *ibid.*, 549 Col 849 (27 February 1956); Mr. Bevan, *ibid.*, 592 Col 237 (22 July 1958). See Anthony Nutting on Labour's change of view on the Bagdad Pact, *ibid.*, 549 Cols 2113–4 (7 March 1956).

[61] Philip Noel-Baker, *ibid.*, 592 Cols 344–6 (22 July 1958).

[62] R. H. S. Crossman, *ibid.*, 542 Col 599 (15

In Africa no such interests exist, and hence Labour policy unambiguously champions native nationalism in its struggle for independence from European rule, so long as this does not mean bondage to settler minorities. The only fear is that, in impatience to be quit of remnants of Empire which bring only trouble and unpopularity, the Conservatives will abandon the native people to the more advanced White settlers: hence the desire of Labour to delay, rather than accelerate, the grant of independence to Kenya and to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—the less developed countries in the proposed Central African Federation—until suitable guarantees of native interests are secured. The Conservatives for their part, though their tradition is to question the automatic merits of national self-determination, have little reason for wishing to hold unwilling dependencies in Africa. Their basic concern appears to be, in the act of transferring sovereignty to local hands, to avoid the extreme evils of losing former colonies to Communism, on one side, and of weakening the Commonwealth through alienating the Union of South Africa and white elements in Central and East Africa, on the other. The issue therefore, as between Right and Left, is not one of principle, of freedom versus imperialism. It is one of weighing the risks of driving frustrated African nationalists to revolt as against the risks of permanently estranging European ingredients in Africa which still have their part to play.

In Asia, where under present conditions British interests are not deeply engaged, there is somewhat the same disagreement over tactics rather than fundamentals. Both parties accept the legitimacy of Communist China. Even the Government, if their hands were free, would probably not hesitate to admit Communist Chinese delegates to the United Nations. To deny them admission, once one has recognised the Peking regime, is too much of a strain even for British disdain for logic. The problem of Formosa and the Pescadores would be curtly disposed of by Labour, who propose neutralisation under United Nations administration for a period, after which their future would be decided by plebiscite.[63] The offshore islands would be ceded at once to the mainland authorities. The Government also have left no doubt that they regard these islands as within the jurisdiction of Communist China. In a written answer to a question in the Commons in February 1955 Sir Anthony Eden suggested that the only obstacle to their immediate return was the United States refusal to surrender them without war.[64] Ministers have been more vague about what they would do if they had full authority in Formosa. But they have never warmly endorsed American policy and are clearly actuated more by the inhibitions of the situation than by any preferences of their own.[65] On Asia as a whole, however, the Government's outlook has changed in the last few years, illustrated by the greater concern with the under developed countries after the Prime Minister's Commonwealth tour in March 1958.

IV. LIMITS OF ELECTORAL CHOICE

The breadth of consensus on foreign affairs between the two parties raises the question whether the British electorate can still be described as having a substantial party choice in matters of foreign policy. It is characteristic of the present phase of British politics that the public tends to differentiate least between policies and most between parties, with personalities occupying something of a middle position. Parties are apt to be judged in terms of their inner cohesion; ideological hairsplitting in a serious political organisation is not admired. Accordingly, the controversies over nuclear weapons in the Labour movement in the months preceding the last general election were an electoral drawback, however cogent Labour's insistence that soul-searching on

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June 1955); Denis Healey, *ibid.*, 547 Col 839 (12 December 1955); Kenneth Younger, *ibid.*, 542 Col 616 (15 June 1955).

[63] *Labour's Foreign Policy*, 1958, p. 7.

[64] 536 *H.C. Deb.* 5s. Cols 159–60 (4 February): "Any attempt by the Government of the People's Republic of China to assert its authority over these islands by force would in the circumstances at present peculiar to the case give rise to a situation endangering peace and security."

[65] In the Conservative general election manifesto of May 1955, *United for Peace and Progress*, it was stated (p. 11) that "in the Formosa Straits we would like to see a guarantee on both sides not to resort to force, and the withdrawal of Chinese Nationalist forces from the coastal islands. This could lead to the reconsideration at an appropriate moment both of Chinese representation in the United Nations and the future status of Formosa."

such an issue was wholesome as compared with the somnolent unity in Tory ranks. It is doubtful whether, if Labour were in power, such strains would hinder the implementation of a firm policy, any more than in the period of Labour Government after the war, though a Foreign Secretary of Bevin's strength would be essential. But the assumption of disunity on the Left has sunk into the wavering voter's mind: he feels that in rejecting it he is exercising real choice.

At the other extreme is the absence of any substantial confrontation of alternative policies, especially after the fertilisation of Ministers with many Opposition ideas in the last two years. There was a certain choice in 1945, when Labour benefited from the nation's rejection of pre-war appeasement policies, though the presence of Churchill and Eden on the other side was not helpful. Today there is little to choose as between specific policies offered by the parties; one reflection of this is that the self-examination which has gone on in the Labour Party since last October has so far not touched foreign policy, in which the party did not offend the marginal vote. There remains, if not choice between policies, choice between what may be called residual mental attitudes which cling, or are believed to cling, to the two parties respectively. Suspicion still lingers with habitual Labour voters that the Tories remain imperialists at heart, who may yet attempt one-sided acts of force on the Suez model. On the other side is the Right-wing fear that Labour Ministers might become prisoners of the pacifist or extreme Left wing of the party and thus inflict irreparable damage on the country's world position. Since both parties are desirous of having a good public image, the tendency may be for both (and especially the Conservatives, who, unlike many Labour politicians, do not like "the sweet smell of failure") to try to counteract these suspicions. The Right may erase more and more its imperialist background, while Labour's executive may take a more serious view of pacifist dissent. If so, it would mean that the factors tending towards inter-party consensus will be strengthened.

What effect the next four years of Conservative Government are likely to have depends to a large extent on the path taken by reconstruction in the Labour Party. If the party survives the present crisis and is united on the basis of a moderate reformist programme with a fresh appeal to the electorate, all three types of choice, as between parties, policies and leaders, may be reduced still further. But if there follows a long period of intra-party factionalism on the Left, with the possibility that outlying portions of the Right wing may secede to the Liberals, the choice of party and men may widen to the Conservatives' advantage, while the likely concentration of struggles within the Labour Party on home policy may have the effect of narrowing choice between the two parties' foreign policies. In either event what the world is least likely to see in the near future is any form of diplomatic revolution on Britain's part. The probability is that the main course of foreign policy will continue with little or no interference from party conflict within the country.

ETHICS AND WAR: A CATHOLIC VIEW

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World War II and Cold War I have influenced the moral appraisal of diplomacy much as they have influenced all systematic analysis of international relations. Commentators are now more aware that the wide gap between what is and what ought to be cannot be nullified by exhortation or legal formula or inexorable institutional evolution. They appreciate more profoundly the structure and function of power. They have learned from Mukden, Wal-Wal and Munich that accommodation can be more costly than resoluteness, and that an ethic dissociated from the world in which men live cannot give adequate moral guidance for men's living. Nevertheless the commentators remain reluctant, on both political and moral grounds, to accept *Realpolitik*'s ethical outlook on the use of force. The shortcomings of yesterday's total victory have been too sobering; and Hiroshima's destruction has left a scar upon the conscience. Moral judgments on diplomacy are accordingly less simplist, less absolute, more troubled and uneasy than in the pre-war decades.

The moral theories that have attracted most attention among students of international politics are either Protestant Christian or secular humanist in their basic orientations. This is not to say that these orientations are clearly distinguishable in any particular statement; more or less of them can be found in Niebuhr, Wolfers, Butterfield, Lefever, and Osgood among others.[1] Less well known is a view that can be classified as Catholic or Scholastic. In the hope that this could illuminate, if it does not modify, the problems and the answers as conceived by the better known theories, the present study will put forth such a view. The position will be stated first, with such explanation as might be needed for understanding it, and some indication of differences from the Protestant and humanist conceptions. The theory can then be applied to varying hypothetical projections of the contemporary international scene.

I

His task, as the Scholastic moralist sees it, is to discover objective truths about right and wrong; it is to discover intellectual guidelines for good action. Because he tries to detach his judgments from the sentimental or emotional assurances which others often identify with conscience, and because he thinks of conscience itself as an act of the mind, he sometimes seems inhumanly cold. He is also, in one sense, a minimalist, seeking to determine the lowest margin of good within which the soul's salvation is not jeopardized. Although his quest for the margin is not a recommendation of marginal living, in this preoccupation he risks the further appearance of sophistry. Whether the critic agrees with the viewpoint, it is important to understand it.

The objectives of the task define its method as likewise intellectual. Essentially, this is the application of logic to premises drawn from two sources: the data of divine revelation and the data of human perception.[2] Within this methodological framework, the Catholic moralist exercises a perhaps surprising freedom. The Church seldom uses the authority, acknowledged by its members, decisively to resolve moral questions. A central core of moral doctrines has grown up, on which virtual unanimity prevails. Outside this, vigorous debate often persists—usually on the more complex or less common problems. The debate becomes even more vigorous when it moves from the level of general doctrine to analysis of particular situations. The aim of providing moral direction for every conceivable human act is ambitious indeed, but this is the moralist's aim. General rules of conduct can be established readily enough. Circumstances, however, alter cases, in the sense that varying concrete facts bring into convergence varying combinations of principle. In judging cases, then, moralists often disagree sharply on the weights they assign to the relevant facts. Where this is true, it is more accurate to speak of *a* Catholic view than *the* Catholic view.[3]

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[1] See Arnold Wolfers, "Statesmanship and Moral Choice," *World Politics*, Vol. 1 (Jan. 1949), pp. 175–195; Herbert Butterfield, *Christian Diplomacy and War* (London: Epworth Press, 1953); Ernest W. Lefever, *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957); Robert E. Osgood, *Ideals and Self-Interest in American Foreign Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). Reinhold Niebuhr has written voluminously on the subject; *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940) is fairly representative of his views. See also Percy E. Corbett, *Morals, Law, and Power in International Relations* (Los Angeles: John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1956); and Kenneth W. Thompson, *Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1959).

[2] Differing with the Logical Positivists, Scholastics hold that the first premises of ethical reasoning *can be* validated. At issue between the two schools is the meaning of intellectual "intuition," as a type of cognition. For the Scholastic this is the mind's equivalent of the eye's visual apprehension; the mind "inspects" the two terms of a judgment and understands that one can be predicated of the other.

Virtually any foreign policy problem has moral implications: travel, migration, commerce, economic aid, disaster relief, colonialism, or cooperation for social welfare.[4] The present study will be confined to the issue of war and the threat of war.

In political terms, war or the threat of war is always an instrument of somebody's policy. It is used to persuade another people to make concessions which are less distasteful to them than the death of their soldiers, the destruction of their wealth, and the occupation of their territory. But the functional description does not convey the stark reality. The tragic finality of instant death, the lingering agony of wounded life, the mental anguish of fear and separation, and the attending train of privation, disease, dishonesty and vice—all these of massive proportions—have been left out. Nuclear war could put the deaths in tens of millions, deform the bodies and minds of endless generations, and leave the civilized world a charred and blackened wasteland. Normal human sensitivity shudders at this vision. Sensitivity apart, war's coercive purposes repel the humanist as an irrational invasion of man's self-determining dignity.[5] In Christian eyes, to inflict pain on one's fellows clashes with the brotherly ideals which Christ exemplified and preached.

Horrifying though the vision be, inhumane and unchristian though war seem, some segments of mankind still find a promise of gain in the use or threat of force. As long as this is so, the other segments of mankind must deal with a temptation of their own—to cancel out coercion's promise with a menace of counter-coercion. It is this which raises the moral questions: Are war and threat of war legitimate, and under what circumstances? How severe may the general be in war, or the statesman in diplomacy? An important restriction of focus in examining such questions must be noted. For all the undoubted impact of environmental interaction on social decisions, the decisions are made by men. It is consequently in the perceptions of solitary minds that the practical permissive or inhibitory influence of moral considerations on community choices must be radicated. The Scholastic moralist wishes to inform the consciences not primarily of nations, but of men.

II

Divine revelation does not give an unqualified answer to the question of war's legitimacy. Sacred Scripture, read piecemeal with somebody's "inner light" may sound definitive; read in context with the resources of systematic hermeneutics, it remains inconclusive. The "morality of the Sermon on the Mount" is often cited as categorically condemning all resort to force. The Sermon, however, is not all "morality." It includes counsels of perfection as well as minimal commands, ascetical as well as moral guidance. Moreover, in all literalness, it was addressed to individual persons in their individual capacities, not to social collectivities or social leaders as such. Its admonitions to turn the other cheek, to resist not evil, to give your cloak to the man who takes your tunic, and to go two miles with the fellow who makes you go one (*Mt.* 5:39–41) do not necessarily imply, therefore, that the statesman and his nation are morally obliged to sacrifice every other consideration and advantage for the sake of peace. The Sermon's advices must, in fact, be harmonized with the quite different indications which appear elsewhere in Scripture. Among these is the minatory dictum of St. Paul: "But if thou dost what is evil, fear, for not without reason does it [the public power] carry the sword. For it is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath on him who does evil." (*Rom.* 13:4). While this is directly relevant only to internal social order, it does bestow a positive moral quality upon coercive power in official hands. The interpreter of Scripture must confront with caution, then, even the incisive prohibition in the decalogue: "Thou shalt not kill." (*Ex.* 20:13)[6]

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[3] An adequate statement of the objectives and methods of Catholic moral theologians appears in Henry Davis, S.J., *Moral and Pastoral Theology* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938), I, pp. 1–6.

[4] Some of these topics are treated in *Code of International Ethics*, comp. International Union of Social Studies, trans. and ed. John Eppstein (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, rev. ed., 1953). The new quarterly journal, *World Justice*, published by the Research Center for International Justice at Louvain University, will deal comprehensively with such questions; see "Our Program," *ibid.*, Vol. 1 (Sept. 1959), pp. 5–14.

[5] See Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 314, citing Harold Stearns; and Osgood's own comments, pp. 6–7.

Primitive Christian practices and documents can be, according to Catholic belief, an alternative expression of divine revelation. They reflect the otherwise unrecorded teaching of Christ and the apostles. But these sources are no more decisive than Sacred Scripture as to the moral warrant for war. Despite an apparent reluctance to enter the army, early Christians did serve, and some achieved distinction. The feeling among them that service was incompatible with the new religious spirit hinged not upon the martial purposes of the soldier's profession but upon the idolatrous rites often associated with military life. Origen (d. 254), St. Cyprian (d. 258), and Lactantius (d. 330) can be adduced as denouncing warfare or violence; Tertullian (d. 240) held mutually contradictory positions at different stages of his career. The witness of these men, however, is understandably fragmentary. With the Christian religion persecuted, outlawed, or ignored, formal theorizing on issues of public policy was pointless. When the Edict of Constantine and the emperor's subsequent conversion gave Christians open access to civil office, a new situation was created.[7]

St. Augustine (d. 430) then shaped the broadest early statement on the morality of war. Briefly, this regarded force as, in some situations, justified. The Augustinian statement, despite occasional discordant comments in the Middle Ages, thenceforth remained "in possession" among Catholic thinkers. The chief landmarks in its evolution were the currency given it by Gratian (c. 1150), its distinctive clarification by St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and its detailed development by the Spanish theologians Francisco Vittoria (d. 1546) and Francisco Suarez (d. 1617). Since the statement is, however, less definitive as early Christian witness than as accepted contemporary doctrine, a complete account of its historical elaboration is not to the point here. It will be enough to set forth the position as it stands today, incorporating such modifications as have found their way into it during the past three hundred years.[8]

III

In the opinion of Scholastics, both defensive and offensive war can be morally justified. Supporting argumentation differs for the two types, and the offensive variety is more severely circumscribed. Although Pauline ideas are invoked in the argument, they do not seem strictly necessary; the analysis relies more heavily on reason than on revelation.

At the core of the position is the Scholastic concept of a political society. While this concept admittedly tends to a misleading hypostasization of the state, it does convey reality in terms more meaningful than the positive law fiction of corporate personality. For it relates to the intentions of morality's divine creator rather than to the artifice of human legislators. In the Scholastic view, because a civil society is a natural entity, it is divinely instituted. God, as author of man's natural needs, aptitudes and tendencies, is also author of the social structures which are built upon them. To these social structures, of which the state is one, He has attached certain objective moral characteristics.

One moral characteristic of the state is its obligation to seek the common earthly welfare of its citizens. Linked with this is a second, its right of self-defense. If the evil could with impunity impose their will upon the innocent, social life would be reduced to chaos; for the good of its citizens, then, a state unjustly attacked by force may resist by force.

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[6] Alfred Vanderpol, *La Doctrine scolastique du droit de guerre* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1919), presents the classic scriptural objections to war, along with responses drawn from patristic and other theological commentaries, pp. 16–23. Martin Luther, it may be noted, did not at all regard *Matthew* 5: 38–42 as prohibiting coercion either by governmental authority in the interest of public security or by parental authority in the interest of children's education; see *Luther's Works*, XXI, *The Sermon on the Mount and the Magnificat*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 105–115. John R. Bodo has pointed out that during the early nineteenth century, pacifism had no place in the main stream of American Protestant thought; see *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 226–227.

[7] See Vanderpol, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–195; Yves de la Brière, *Le Droit de juste guerre* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1938), pp. 15–17.

[8] See de la Brière, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–45. The principal pertinent texts are: St. Augustine, *De Libero Arbitrio*, ch. 5; Letter no. 38, ad Marcellinum; Letter no. 189, ad Bonifacium; Letter no. 229, ad Darium; *City of God*, Bk. XIX, chs. 7, 12, 13, 15. *Decree of Gratian*, Cause XXIII, Questions 1–4. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part II-II, Question 40. Francisco Vittoria, *De Jure Belli*. Francisco Suarez, *Disputatio XIII*, *De Bello*. English translations of most of these works can be found in various patristic collections. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published translations of Vittoria and Suarez. Generous excerpts will be found in John Eppstein, ed., *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (Washington: Catholic Association for International Peace, 1935).

The right of self-defense is not, however, absolute. It may be exercised only if action is urgently needed and no other remedy is at hand; only so much violence is allowed as will repel the unjust aggressor; a justified attack may not be resisted at all. On these restrictions of the right, Scholastics have long agreed.[9] But two other points have recently attracted closer attention. In an important sense, the right of self-defense is founded on the requirements of a wider, equally natural, but less articulated community—that of mankind.[10] The right aims at preventing international anarchy by restraints placed upon men of ill-will. Conceivably, this purpose would be better served in some circumstances by forbearance than by resistance; where this was the case, the state would be obligated to refrain from action. Secondly, the right of self-defense is founded on the interests of the particular community's own citizens. It aims at protecting their wealth, their lives, and their liberty. Conceivably, this objective, too, could be better achieved by self-abnegation than by self-assertion; and the state would again be obliged to let events take their course.

Another cardinal characteristic of the state is its moral authority. This is its divine authorization to rule, to exercise—with effects in the moral order itself—the functions traditionally identified with governing: to command, judge and execute. While Augustine and his followers here look to the Pauline concept of the public power, the Scholastic can derive this characteristic in sheerly rational terms, as a natural requirement of the community and therefore as a natural endowment bestowed by the community's divine author.

Upon the state's possession of moral authority turns its right of offensive war. The rights of a state or its citizens can be violated in ways other than by invasion: territory or prerogatives owing to the nation can be withheld, or the movement and commerce of its nationals can be seriously impeded. The injustice thus inflicted would call not only for reparation but—in the interests of social order—for punishment. Within a society, the individual is not free to pursue such purposes on his own; he may only appeal to public authority. As between societies, however, there is no one to whom effective appeal can be made. The moral empowerment of the injured state therefore receives a kind of extension: to pass and execute judgment on those who are normally beyond its jurisdiction. Just as the government may right wrongs and punish wrong-doers inside its boundaries, so it may act outside. If need be, it may vindicate its community's rights even by violence. The injured state becomes with respect to another nation "an avenger to execute wrath on him who does evil."[11]

The Scholastic does not, it should be noted, stigmatize legitimate war as the "lesser evil." International crises do not confront him, in this respect at least, with true "dilemmas." Common humanist and Protestant conceptions are quite different. Ernest Lefever, for example, writes unequivocally in a somewhat wider context that "choosing the lesser of two evils . . . is more responsible than an ethic of abstention."[12] Reinhold Niebuhr, adapting classic Lutheran theology, finds man necessitated to sin, not only by the intrinsic corruption of human nature but also by the extrinsic dilemmas of the social milieu.[13] For the Scholastic, by contrast, sin is never inevitable; an act of self-defense or an act of vindicative justice, although imposed by circumstances which are regrettable, is morally good. This conclusion might be censured as leading to an easy identification of selfish national interest with high moral purpose.[14] Yet the doctrine may actually be more humanizing than the other, bleaker, views. It holds conscience to account, first for the reason, then for the measure, of violence—instead of giving over the moral agent to the uninhibited hopelessness which often follows from seeing sin as unavoidable.

IV

The justification of war in general terms does not end the discussion. Conscience must render its account on certain qualifying factors. Unless particular conditions are fulfilled, the general justification has no application to specific cases. These qualifications can be conveniently summarized under seven headings—some of which are more, some less, relevant to the problems of contemporary diplomacy.

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[9] See Vanderpol, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–32; John Eppstein, "A Commentary," introductory to *Code of International Ethics*, pp. 28–29.

[10] See *Code of International Ethics*, pp. 84–85, 123–124; J. T. Delos, O.P., "The Dialectics of War and Peace," *Thomist*, Vol. 13 (Oct. 1950), pp. 562–564.

[11] See Vanderpol, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–38.

[12] See Lefever, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

[13] See Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, chs. 1 and 2.

[14] See Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

First, the war must be declared by legitimate public authority in the country which goes to war. This requirement pertains primarily to offensive wars, since these professedly vindicate justice and are therefore an exercise of divinely authorized judicial and executive power. Historically, the condition was invoked in order to limit the military activities of lesser feudal lords. Today, it has a somewhat analogous function even with respect to the major powers. Since, in choosing war or peace, the government of any state acts as surrogate for an unarticulated international authority, its decision must be controlled by international purposes. War must aim at a good which is universal rather than exclusive. Peace and the sacrifice even of a just claim may therefore be necessary sometimes for the welfare of the wider community.[15]

Second, the injury which the war is intended to prevent or rectify must be real and certain. An imaginary injustice cannot legitimize vindication. Both the right which has been infringed and the alleged infringement of it must have substance. The possibly unjust taking of human life is not within the ambit of the "probabilism" utilized by many Scholastics in appraising most types of moral acts.[16] The right which is at stake in war must therefore be certainly possessed and certainly violated. Some moralists believe, in addition, that a government going to war should know for certain the other party's *moral* culpability, that it should be able to discount with complete assurance any suggestion of inadvertence or ignorance on his part. This belief again is based on the Scholastic notion of civil authority. Because authority is divine in origin and function, only a *moral* fault, as distinguished from a purely juridical, external, offense, can validate its use. As others indicate, however, human knowledge can never be sure of other men's dispositions, on which their moral guilt depends; malicious or not, the external violation of right disturbs social order and justifies its vindication.[17] Typical injuries envisaged by the older moralists, it may be noted, included seizure or retention of territory, breach of the communal or private, the commercial or personal liberties of a country's nationals; and similar impositions on a third state.

Third, the seriousness of the injury must be proportioned to the damages that the war will cause. No criteria are laid down for weighing either factor, except that the assessment must be made in terms of moral rather than material gains and losses. Self-defense, it is agreed, almost always justifies resistance, and the positive vindication of trivial rights is never adequate reason for hostilities. Between these two accepted judgments, however, there is room for widely divergent appraisals. Some commentators contend that no vindication of any right entitles a country to wage war. For them the theory of legitimate offensive action, although retaining its technical validity, has ceased to be applicable in the modern world. They expressed this view before World War II; they regard it as irrefutably confirmed by subsequent military developments. Pope Pius XII appears to have made it his own. The potential damage of war will be totally disproportionate to any possible achievement.[18]

Fourth—and this is closely linked with the third condition—there must be reasonable hope of success in the waging of the war. If defeat is certain, hostilities will only aggravate the injustice which occasioned them and leave a train of futile sorrow in their path. A nation defending itself against attack, however, may more readily take its chances on fighting, as Finland did in 1939, than a nation on the offensive. In extreme cases the moral value of national martyrdom may compensate for the material destruction of unsuccessful war, as with Belgium in 1914.[19]

Commentators prophesy that the next war will have no victor. The truth of their prediction depends upon what victory can mean. It cannot mean now, if it ever did, the categorical imposition of the winning side's will upon the loser. The erosion of the victors' comparative advantage *vis-à-vis* the vanquished in both World Wars demonstrates this; even after an atomic clash, the cooperation of the defeated country will be worth bargaining for. Success can then mean, at best, the accomplishment of limited objectives. But since such accomplishment remains possible, calculation of success can still enter into the moral choice of war or peace.[20]

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[15] See de la Brière, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–60; Delos, *op. cit.*, pp. 549–550, 557–559; *Code of International Ethics*, pp. 123–124.

[16] Probabilism is explained by Davis, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93–94, 99–100.

[17] Franziskus Stratmann, O.P., would require certitude of moral guilt, *The Church and War* (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1928), pp. 59–71, stating his conclusions most clearly on pp. 65–66. More recently Stratmann has questioned the legitimacy of inflicting death even on an enemy soldier without being certain of his personal moral culpability, "War and the Christian Conscience," in Charles S. Thompson, ed., *Morals and Missiles* (London: James Clarke and Co., 1959), pp. 24–27. For the opposite view, see de la Brière, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34, 64–73, 171–174.

[18] See Stratmann, *The Church and War*, pp. 66–67; John K. Ryan, *Modern War and Basic Ethics* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1940), pp. 28–29, 94–95, 123; John Courtney Murray, S.J., *Morality and Modern War* (New York: Church Peace Union, 1959), pp. 9, 12.

[19] See *Code of International Ethics*, p. 123. "Hope" of success is not synonymous with "certitude" of success, see Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 16; de la Brière, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77.

Fifth, only as a last resort may hostilities be initiated. A war is clearly pointless if its ends can be attained by less painful means. Negotiation, mediation, arbitration and judicial settlement must be utilized first. Scholastics have in fact demanded, as a necessary prerequisite for military action, an ultimatum or a formal declaration of war, since these are the last measures of persuasion short of force itself. Apart from the possibility that such devices might in fact achieve their appropriate purpose, they can aid in assessing the morality of one's own decision. For they help to establish with certainty any alleged injury as a matter both of law and of fact, by at least hinting at the culpability of a party who shuns them. Moreover, if the rights and wrongs of a situation remain doubtful—in which case war would be immoral—these alternative courses furnish opportunity for compromising the issues.[21]

Sixth, a war may be prosecuted legitimately only insofar as the responsible agents have a right intention. Even good acts are morally perverted if they are done with immoral motives. The significance of this condition should not be discounted simply because the external observer cannot pass judgment on its fulfilment. Governmental authorities are here challenged to confront continually their purposes with the unflinching appraisal of their consciences. A war which is otherwise just becomes immoral if it is waged out of hatred. A war of self-defense becomes immoral if, in its course, it becomes an instrument of expansion. A war to vindicate justice becomes immoral if, as it goes on, it becomes a means of aggrandizement.[22] The facility with which nations rationalize their resort to war is a commonplace of diplomatic historians. The inhibitory influence of conscience is cited less frequently—and even then, with disparaging cynicism; yet it has possibly prevented more wars than this world dreams of. The requirement of right intention can, in addition, debar the rash initiation of war and can bridle the vengeful dispositions which—as Kennan and others have complained—make for the irrational termination of hostilities in "unconditional surrender" when something just as valuable could be achieved faster, more cheaply; and in punitive clauses which fester instead of healing the wounds of the defeated.[23]

Seventh, the particular measures used in conducting the war must themselves be moral. Noble ends do not sanctify ignoble means; evil may not be done that good may come of it.[24] The ramifications of this restriction are wide. It raises questions about the taking of hostages, the handling of prisoners, the employment of deceptive stratagems, the resort to espionage, and, above all else today, the utilization of nuclear weapons. It might be anticipated that no conceivable use of these armaments can be justified. But the Scholastic here makes important distinctions. Discussion of these best fits the application, below, of the seven enumerated conditions to the emerging international situation.

V

The foregoing exposition has touched only lightly some possible shortcomings of Scholastic international ethics. Some of these can profitably be given a little more careful attention.

The hypostasization of the state can, as previously intimated, be deceptive. The corporate personality of any concrete civil society does not have the same permanence or absoluteness as the personality of a human being. That the people of a given locality should be united in *some* political community is "natural." That they should be united in a *particular*, existing, community is "artificial," since this depends upon historical accidents and arbitrary choices. The territorial boundaries, the human components, and the constitutional structure of existing societies are not rigidly fixed but mutable. Consequently, the "rights" of states are contingent, are functional with respect to the needs both of their own citizens and the rest of humankind.

In the realm of morality as distinguished from positive law, the very attribution of rights and duties to states can be misleading. Really in question are immunities and obligations ultimately pertaining to the citizens and their leaders. While this observation underlines the contingency of the moral claims on which the justification of a war depends, more importantly it focuses responsibility for state action on personal moral judgment. In a sense, the state is less an agent than an instrument. Accountability is diluted as it is diffused, because one can answer morally for events only to the degree that one's decisions control them. Nevertheless, in this perspective, one cannot solely blame an impersonal "it" or conscienceless "thing" for acting or refraining in the pursuit of corporately held rights.

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[20] See Paul Kecskemeti's analysis in *Strategic Surrender* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), ch. 9.

[21] See *Code of International Ethics*, p. 126; Vanderpol, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–99.

[22] See Vanderpol, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–88.

[23] See George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 62–72, 101–102.

[24] See *Code of International Ethics*, pp. 126–130.

The theory of offensive war has been developed in terms perhaps more legalistic than is necessary. The argument establishing jurisdiction over enemy nationals is tortuous, and its purpose would be as well served by saying simply that the moral authority of the state includes—in the absence of higher institutions—the empowerment to assure the community's rights. The notion of punishment may seem too prominent. Vindication readily passes into vindictiveness, and thus the mischievous stirring of new rancor; but it must be said on the other hand that Scholastics place a heavy burden on the conscience of the statesman who lets this happen. Even within the legalistic framework, one helpful insight has been neglected—namely that the authority which a just victor exercises at the peace table can be legislative. It should be used to build a durable peace. Its influence will be more constructive if it is directed to an international common good within a system of social justice rather than to a national good—vindication of a national right—within an extrapolated system of individual justice.[25]

Although the moral evaluation of an action's multiple consequences is crucial to judgment of the act itself, Scholastics lay down few if any criteria for measuring the relative good and evil of alternative outcomes. Among themselves, as suggested earlier, they have reached some agreed concrete appraisals for recurrent problems. Whether observers with other philosophical or theological prepossessions will always find these assessments convincing is, however, doubtful; and the Scholastics themselves will be set at odds by unique or novel situations.

Finally, the very tendency to work out and illustrate the principles with simple hypothetical cases can convey the impression that both the facts and the law in international situations are more readily ascertainable than in reality they usually are. True enough, if territory is invaded, the nation may defend it; if it is withheld, the nation may seize it; if its title remains obscure, the nation may divide it with the rival claimant.[26] But is violation of air-space an invasion, and is a subversive effort in fact receiving outside support? The possibilities of real aggression without obvious invasion are so multifarious that they defy fool-proof, comprehensive, definition—as the repeated efforts of jurists since World War I to resolve the problem have demonstrated. Where offensive rather than defensive action is concerned, the non-territorial issues so characteristic of modern world politics point the difficulty; one does not even have so tangible a standard as geographical position to use as normative.

VI

Since Scholastic ethics are—as should by now be clear—highly circumstantial, applications must wait upon "a case," upon the factual situation of any given hour. The possibilities are therefore infinite. Upon these, however, some order and limitation can be imposed by restricting discussion to contingencies which can be regarded as both typical and likely, and by seeking in these the moral course for the United States. These types and probabilities, moreover, can be viewed as under the dominance of the East-West struggle.

Within this framework, the contingencies likely to call for a moral choice of war or peace can conveniently be reduced to these: open military attack or subversion (1) by an "uncommitted" nation or by a Soviet ally against an American ally or a "neutral"; (2) by the Soviet Union itself against such an ally or neutral; (3) by the Soviet Union against the United States itself; or (4) "liberative" action by the United States against a Russian ally, or "preventive" action against Russia. The first three of these contingencies are occasions for defense, the fourth for initiative. Examination of the four serially, as related to the major criteria for a just war, would be tedious. It will be simpler to deal with them together, noting similarities and differences, and to answer the easier questions first. For all cases, the rightness of American intentions will be assumed.

One factor which pervades all these situations and differentiates them sharply from those contemplated by the earlier moralists is the peculiarity of the central dispute between the polar powers in this scheme. The controversy between the United States and Russia is not primarily territorial. The physical distance between the two countries is considerable, and their boundaries are not the subject of debate.

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[25] See Delos, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–324.

[26] See Vanderpol's remarks on doubtful possession, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–128.

At issue is security for ways of life which have been incorporated into social, economic, and political institutions. Territory is important only as it is touched by this issue of ideals. Russian military power is close to nations in Europe and elsewhere which are similar to the United States in outlook or in aspiration. Americans are reluctant to permit any expansion—at least, without the consent of the people immediately affected—of a governmental system that suppresses human liberties as the West conceives them. This reluctance rests in part on the intrinsic Christian and humanist value of freedom, and in part on the fear that similar encroachment will progressively reach out to the United States itself.

Russians expressly wish to extend the area in which their social system holds sway. This wish springs in part from the determination to maximize values which they prefer to the Western concept of freedom, and in part from the hope that the system's extension to other countries will assure its continuance at home. While Communists professedly seek their objectives only by a convincing demonstration of the superiority of communism as a way of life, the evidence seems to belie this profession; Soviet leadership will apparently use any means it can get away with, including threats, subversion, and military action. Yet American power lies close to the Soviet sphere. And because some Americans want to press back the area which has been deprived of liberty, the Russians are also concerned for security.

On both sides, security is a state of mind. The concept certainly provides no clear standard for vindicatory justice, and even where mere accommodation is concerned, it does not lend itself to diplomatic compromise or third party judgment—the less so because international executive action in support of a judgment cannot realistically be expected.

With this overshadowing controversy defined, the enumerated contingencies may be examined. The first two of them envisage a hostile movement by, for example, the UAR against Israel, Communist China against India or Pakistan, or the USSR against Sweden, Turkey, Brazil, or Ghana. Would a military response by the United States be permissible in terms of the issue alone? In none of these situations could the United States invoke self-defense in its classic conception, since American territory would remain untouched. Self-defense in its modernized version, would, however, be available as a matter of both law and morality. With several of the potential victims, the United States is linked by mutual security pacts carrying an obligation of virtually automatic collective resistance. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter sanctions spontaneous support of countries with which no formal treaty exists. Defensive action could be required for the world's common good. In the third contingency—a Soviet attack on the United States—the classic right of self-defense would clearly become operative. As for liberative action by the United States in the Russian satellites, at the level of positive international law alone this would be difficult to justify—possible, perhaps, only by stretching the human rights clauses of some peace treaties into a guarantee susceptible of intervention in their support. Preventive war could be validated if immediate hostile intentions were certain; but this had better be treated later in connection with the problem of certitude itself.

A question more haunting than the *casus belli* is the likelihood of success. American power on the side of the defender would assure the military defeat of any aggressor or combination of aggressors, save one. Possibly the United States would not even have to draw upon its nuclear arsenal—although the cost, in casualties, of a conventional war against Communist China would come very high. *Vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union, military victory would be less sure. Russia is physically and psychologically capable of long-range, large-scale, nuclear warfare. The possibility of failure against the USSR makes uncertain the expectation of victory over lesser powers which the Soviets choose to back. American favor would not, therefore, automatically assure the triumph of every American protégé.

If military success is thus questionable, diplomatic victory—at least total diplomatic victory—is even more so. The problem of proportion is implicit in that of success. Some victories would make the winner master of a seared and wasted world, not worth the trouble. Some would, at best, preserve the *status quo*, as the police action in Korea. Some would exchange new and more powerful enemies for old, as World War II did in Poland and China. Some would tie the victor down to prolonged, expensive and perhaps futile "pacification" of the vanquished, as a prospective American conquest of Russia. It can only be said, as a counter-consideration, that some situations narrow a nation's options, that diplomatic success is relative to the alternatives presented, and that diminished victory may be preferable to defeat. As game-theory might put it, it is inadvisable to play when no one can win, but once play has begun (and this is not always a free choice), the player must seek at least to minimize his losses.

Concretely, judged from the viewpoint of probable success and proportionate cause, virtually no imaginable hostilities among "neutrals" would justify partisan military intervenon by the United States. War between the rabs and Israel would not directly impinge on merican security. Participation of this kind rould divert energies from the principal diplomatic adversary, and—in the Middle East, at least—would provide that adversary with a tempting opportunity to increase its political influence. Contrariwise, mediatory action of ome type by the American government would ontribute more to peace than would involvement.

Aggression by a neutral against an ally would present a somewhat different picture. Suppose hat India were to mount an attack on Pakitan, Yugoslavia on Italy, or Sweden on Norway. Treaty obligations would not bind the United States to act in all such instances. Yet moderate conventional military support of its ally would seem legitimate and hopeful. Such support would embarrass the United States because it would transform a neutral into an enemy, and would agitate waters in which the Soviet Union could then fish. But it would at the same time deter the aggressor, and it could moderate the reactions of the defender—thus making for settlement. Russian counter-action, one suspects, would be calculated not to precipitate a general war.

A direct Soviet attack upon the United States or its allies in Europe would involve stakes to which very strong, sharp reactions would be proportionate. The challenge to Western survival would be undeniable and strategic opportunities would be more favorable than in many another conceivable circumstance. More troublesome would be a Soviet move against less pivotal and more vulnerable American allies: Korea, Thailand, Pakistan, Turkey, Nationalist China, or even Japan. True, failure to respond would mean great loss of face in a world where face is an element of power. The threat to American security, however, would be less direct and immediate. Militarily, some of these places would be booby-traps which would absorb huge expenditures of men and resources in a wasteful peripheral action, or could provoke United States initiative in using nuclear weapons—and this would change the whole measure of proportion and success. On balance it would seem legitimate for the United States to give such defensive support as is needed in such areas, though remaining modest in objective and prepared for accommodation.

American initiative toward liberative or preventive war is faced with all the uncertainties of outcome and of proportion mentioned earlier, which make it morally indefensible.

VII

Two further requirements of a just war fuse into a single problem centering on the element of time. Here again the moralist is faced with a circumstantial factor which sharply differentiates contemporary diplomatic situations from those of a bygone day. Time has been one-sidedly compressed by modern technology—the time of action, but not of decision. Manned aircraft dispatched for a concerted attack on the United States can be detected, it is supposed, four hours before they strike. An enemy's use, instead, of ballistic missiles could cut this warning time to fifteen minutes. The time available for confirming or recalling American counter-measures is similarly restricted. Yet the injury which provokes a war must be real, not imaginary—and therefore known for certain; and war as a means of correcting the injury must be the last resort, utilized only when all less drastic steps have failed. Both the investigation needed to ascertain an injury and the negotiation needed to exhaust other resorts consume time. Because time is an important resource for warring powers, the fulfilment of the ethical requirements may sacrifice decisive military advantage. Besides, four hours leaves few enough moments for a moral determination and appraisal of facts; a quarter hour leaves virtually none. How does this consideration affect moral appraisal in the four contingencies previously enumerated?

As long as possession of missiles with nuclear war-heads is restricted as at present, few of these contingencies will get beyond control or correction in the time required for investigation. Neither neutrals nor Soviet satellites will take decisive military steps against other neutrals or the Western alliance; Russia itself seems unlikely to act in this fashion against neutrals. Open military measures in these contingencies would probably be conventional. The most critical of the possibilities, however, is a massive Soviet attack on major American allies or on the United States. From the military standpoint the most appropriate counter-step would be the immediate launching of a similar attack on the Soviet Union. In a period of a few hours, then, the United States would have to determine whether a suspicious Russian move was really an attack—in fact whether it was really Russian—and was unprovoked by far-flung American troops or far-flung allied governments. Doubt on any point would call for frantic and hazardous (given mutual mistrust) negotiations to call off the attack in mid-flight.

Brief though the time be, one must insist that the requirement of moral certitude be met. This does not, however, require judicial inquiry. Because it burdens the conscience of the responsible statesman, the key question is whether *he* is satisfied as to his knowledge. The outsider has the impression that, with the resources at hand, he *can* be. The very mass of any likely aggression with strategic nuclear weapons would make it identifiable with assurance. A degree of tolerance for some kinds of isolated attack or isolated provocation would be reasonable, and would probably be conceded by both sides—with counter-measures going no further than the *lex talionis*. While delivery remains the task of manned bombers, the "fail-safe" procedure appears to guarantee the policy-maker's control over his retaliatory force for a period sufficient to gather his information. The long count-down, and the frequent misfires of ICBMs used in outer space research indicate that, for the moment, this control will cover unmanned vehicles, too. If an attack on an ally or the United States were established as a fact, however, further diplomatic effort at accommodation would not be required. The last peaceful resort would have been passed.

Apart from a direct attack, subversive activity inspired by the Soviet Union could effect a successful *coup* at some places within the Western defensive system, but this does not present quite the same moral problem. Governmental overthrow seems less likely to occur without warning among the United States' central allies than among the peripheral ones. Moreover, instant nuclear retaliation would not be an apt instrument for undoing such a mishap. If military counter-action were feasible, it would also be moral; but time would press less urgently than in the case of open aggression.

If an American initiative rather than reaction to a Russian attack were in question, the problems of certitude and last resort would again be different. The only substantive grounds on which such an initiative could be justified would be interpretive self-defense—the anticipation of an assured Soviet action against the United States or its friends. This limitation of substantive grounds helpfully limits the procedural considerations. Without certitude of imminent Russian aggression, the United States could not licitly act. Technically, this certitude is possible. Practically, it may not be. Widely scattered underground agents could report simultaneously that at H-hour ICBMs would be launched *en masse* against the United States, or that the Long-Range Air Force would rendezvous over the principal American cities. The definiteness of such information would leave only the question of whether one more diplomatic try—an ultimatum, for example, would be necessary. Even though this would sacrifice the military advantage of a surprise defensive initiative, such an effort would, I think, be required.

VIII

The final moral criterion which must be applied to the major contingencies deals with the measures or means to be used in warfare. The use of immoral means renders immoral the very pursuit of the war by the user. In question are the means sanctioned by the responsible policy-maker, not the activities in which individuals or subordinate officials may engage on their own authority; although war does produce a flood of these activities, their moral relevance is to the balance of good and evil consequences, already discussed. As far as the policy-maker's choice is concerned, the possible resort to nuclear weapons presents the chief difficulty. A rather extensive digression back to pertinent principles of Scholastic ethics will be necessary in approaching it.

The central issue in the use of nuclear weapons is the treatment of non-combatants. In a just war enemy soldiers, and civilians engaged in close logistical supporting action like the manufacture and transport of munitions, may legitimately be killed. Because these are intimately cooperating in the materially unjust activities of the opposing state, they are "guilty"—at least in the juridical sense—of serious injustice; the troops engaged against them are agents of the public authority which is trying to restrain them. Even in "total war," however, non-combatants remain very numerous; these are "innocent," and not subject to the drastic treatment accorded to their countrymen who are closer to the battle. The moral problem arises because nuclear weapons, in some of their contemplated uses, would inflict civilian casualties numbering tens of millions.[27]

The Scholastic seeks moral judgment for this and other methods of warfare through the "principle of double effect."[28] In essence, this principle asserts that an evil effect may be *tolerated* as an incident to a good effect *willed*. As elaborated, the principle requires the fulfilment of four conditions. First, the two effects must issue from a human act which is in the abstract morally good, or at least indifferent; it may not be intrinsically evil. Second, causally the good effect must flow as immediately from this act as the evil effect; it may certainly not be caused by the evil effect. Third, the moral agent must, in his own mind, positively intend only the good effect, merely permitting the evil. And fourth, the good achieved must be proportionate to the evil which is incidental to it. In these terms, an act which damages the innocent can be moral if the damage is adventitious to the restraint and punishment of the guilty. Scholastics have usually regarded as egitimate the bombardment of, for example, a strategic fortress in which non-combatants have taken refuge, or a munitions plant in a populated area. The firing of projectiles is indifferent; significant military damage and unfortunate civilian casualties result simultaneously from the explosions; the agent, by hypothesis, intends only the military destruction; and the objective, again by hypothesis, is sufficiently important to outweigh the non-combatant deaths and injuries. Scholastics seem not, however, to lay down criteria for determining allowable proportions of evil and good; they appeal rather to what they assume s the common human appraisal.

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[27] See Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–36; John C. Ford, S.J., "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing," *Theological Studies*, Vol. 5 (Sept. 1944), pp. 272–286.

[28] On the principle, see Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105; Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–290. On its permissive applications, see *Code of International Ethics*, pp. 134–137.

Although the principle of double effect leaves room, then, for some actions which harm the nnocent, moralists during World War II condemned at least one common practice connected with aerial bombardment—as falling outside the limits of the principle and therefore as an immoral military measure. This was the so-called "saturation bombing" of mixed industrial and residential neighborhoods. Military men thought of the technique partly as a way to compensate for the inaccuracy of their bombers, and partly as a device for underminng the enemy's civilian morale. If one could not ay bombs with pin-point precision on a war-plant, one could pour bombs lavishly on the general area in which the plant was situated. This would increase the mathematical probability of a "hit." And if the other nation's general populace brooded under the constant threat of sleepless nights, devastated homes, and death itself, their determination to struggle on could not endure. The moral critics objected that the military gain in crippling a factory bore no proportion to the damage inflicted on non-combatants; that demoralization was caused by direct attacks upon the innocent, rather than being incidental to attacks on the guilty; and that it was psychologically impossible to discriminate in one's moral intention while one was spraying lethal missiles with deliberate indiscrimination over a diversified area.[29]

For the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, these strictures were more clearly valid. Even if the bomb had been aimed at a sharply defined military target, success in destroying such an installation or complex could not outweigh the resultant deaths of 80,000 or more civilians. The American argument was that this act shortened the war and saved lives on both sides.[30] In moral terms, the argument was irrelevant. For if it was true, the good was still the consequence of the evil, the end still did not justify the means.

The censure of American action at Hiroshima does not, however, debar all licit use of nuclear weapons. Since 1945, atomic technology and politics have changed in at least two ways significant for the moralist. The fantastic upward development of explosive potency (and of fall-out range and intensity) in the hydrogen bomb, and the unexpected harnessing of this same potency in tactical war-heads have diversified the uses upon which he must pass judgment. And the growth of the "nuclear club" to include the most likely adversaries in any major war has added a new evil consequence which he must calculate into the double-effect. This is the possibility that any single atomic explosion will provoke a widening—whether gradually or rapidly—resort to nuclear weapons. The consensus which Scholastics have reached in observing these changes could probably be summarized in these propositions:[31] If the likelihood of expanding a nuclear conflict be set aside, even a high-yield hydrogen bomb could legitimately be dropped upon an isolated military target such as a fleet at sea. Tactical weapons could be hurled at air-bases or at armies in the field. As for nuclear raids—restricted in scope—on industrial or communications centers, opinion is divided: some believe that if such an operation would be much less costly to the raider than a conventional precision attack, it would be permissible, while others insist that in the nature of the case it precludes the necessary discrimination in the raider's moral intentions.

Against this background of principle, one can turn again to likely contingencies in international affairs. By contrast with the other six criteria, the criterion of means touches the conduct of a war rather than its inception. Its relevance to entering upon a war is reflex, as an aspect of gauging proportionate good and evil consequences.

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[29] See Ford, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially pp. 290–295, 298–302; and Ryan, *op. cit.*, ch. 9; the latter was written, however, before the problem became actual in World War II.

[30] See Henry L. Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atom Bomb," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 194 (Feb. 1947), pp. 100–101, 106–107.

[31] See Pelayo Zamayon, O.F.M., Cap., "Morality of War Today and in the Future," *Theology Digest*, Vol. 5 (Winter 1957), pp. 4–5; John C. Ford, S.J., "The Hydrogen Bombing of Cities," *ibid.*, pp. 6–9; John R. Connery, S.J., "Morality of Nuclear Armament," *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

A war between neutrals, or a war initiated by Soviet satellites against a neutral or an American ally could, in an outsider's judgment, be repressed by an intervention which did not employ nuclear explosives. The generally superior arsenal of conventional American arms is capable of achieving this end. Action by Communist China may, as indicated earlier, represent an exception. True, from a military point of view, nuclear devices could be advantageous in these contingencies and, in the abstract, some of them are certainly licit. But the surest way to obviate all use of atomic weapons—and an upward spiral in their potency—is to refrain from first use.

If the Soviet Union were to initiate a war, however, the United States would almost certainly have to run the risk of "first use." The employment of atomic warheads in tactical operations against military installations or troops in the field would be permissible. This would be true, too, in the single conceivable instance of an American initiative. But in no contingency does it seem possible to justify the dispatch of high yield nuclear weapons against cities or essentially civilian areas—not even in retaliation.

This last is a hard saying. It might severely handicap the entire diplomacy of the nation which accepts it. Yet the annihilation of cities makes no political sense, and for this reason the question of such retaliation seems purely academic. There are indications that the balance of terror pivots upon fear rather of the error than of the rational intent of either side. And as long as this is so, the merit of the balance need not be sacrificed by the dismantling of its military substructure. For within the arena marked off by the balance—and nowhere else—can diplomacy maneuver and experiment with other instrumentalities of policy.

IX

Because the present study has ranged so widely, a brief summary may be useful. Catholic thinkers believe that war can be morally justified, in the light both of reason and revelation. Given the contemporary international setting, this judgment is to all intents and puposes valid only for defensive action. Th specific conditions required to legitimize specific hostilities are these: The war must be initated by competent authority. It must be wage to meet a verified, serious injury. The good a which it aims must be proportionate to the ev which flows from it. It must be begun in th reasonable hope that its objective will b achieved. It must be undertaken only after a peaceful remedies have been exhausted. Th agents responsible for the war must have a righ intention. The means employed must themselves be morally good or indifferent.

If these principles be applied to variou likely projections of the present world situation, the eventuality which would most clearl justify a full-scale military response by th United States would be an attack on this country or its allies, initiated by the Soviet Union Less clear would be an engagement amon neutrals, between neutrals and American allies or between the Soviet satellites and an American ally or a neutral. An American initiativ would be permitted only in a constellation o circumstances so unique as to be virtually impossible. The use of some nuclear weapons while legitimate in the abstract, is almos unthinkable in any but a direct American Soviet conflict; and even in this case, thei employment on civilian centers would be illicit.

With Catholic thought as here presented, i is impossible to reconcile either absolute pacificism or the *Realpolitik* which terminates ethical considerations at the water's edge. Th difference between this Catholic view an Protestant or humanist thought of the "realist' tendency is primarily one of emphasis. For th Catholic thinker war is not the lesser of tw evils, but the lesser of two goods (one of whic appears, at the moment of choice, unattainable). Ethical factors which must be weighe into the political decision for war or peace ar more carefully systematized. Even in the conduct of hostilities, moral restraints are regarde as operative. And the moderating factor o "right intention" can contribute to a settlement which is more stable because it is les vindictive. To cite these emphases as "superiorities," however, is less to the purpose than t suggest them as "differences" stimulative o reflection by the many for whom international ethics have, since 1945, acquired new urgency.

CAPITAL PROGRAMMING IN PHILADELPHIA: A STUDY OF LONG-RANGE PLANNING

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This paper results from a larger study of apital budgeting and programming in Philaelphia. Our intention here is to present some ndings bearing upon the role of long-range lanning primarily, though not exclusively, in etropolitan governments.

I

Much, though surely not all, of city planning oday is directly related to capital programning. This is especially so in *large* cities for at east three major reasons: basic physical plant nd utilities are often run down or obsolescent or a complex of historical reasons; many rouine programs are "capital-intensive" and are ecoming more so under the impact of new echnology and professional standards; and rban renewal has entailed an increasingly ntrepreneurial approach to land-use planning. apital programming itself is a process of separate budgetary decision on capital items, however defined.[1] The rationale for the separate deision process values "planning" highly and mphasizes *fiscal* planning of outlay that is oan-financed and *physical* planning of projects istinguished by "lumpiness" and/or longevty. It follows from these considerations that he planning and programming of physical imrovements cannot be sharply separated from he remainder of municipal policy. City planing as applied to capital programming has to o not only with land use but with most funcional programs and with fiscal policy.

While some long-range municipal planning vill probably take place in the line departnents, the focal point of planning is likely to be he review and assembly of the overall capital rogram, at which point fiscal, programmatic nd land-use planning all come into play even f the principal competence and concern of the lanning agency is in land-use planning. The lanning agency can be conceived as performng any or all of the four roles of *research, integration, allocation,* and provision of the *long iew*. While conceptually distinguishable, these oles tend to merge in the practice of capital program review. Thus planning research tends to support a longer view of policy and facilities through the anticipation of trends and the gradual adumbration or articulation of goals, perhaps in a master plan. Integration of projects for the effective fulfillment of program goals and the avoidance of land-use conflicts or premature project obsolescence tends to slide into inter-agency capital budgetary allocations as priorities are attached to project requests.

Students of municipal affairs have differed as to the proper role or balance of roles of the planning agency in capital programming. Some have argued that overall efficiency of the city's programs and physical plant will best be served if the planning agency in effect confines itself to research and integration; others have maintained that these same ends require more-or-less authoritative capital budgetary allocations by the planner based upon more-or-less definitive determinations of city goals.[2] Much, though not all, of the literature of city planning has been tending to expansiveness about the role of the planner and the comprehensive plan in capital programming and in municipal policy generally.[3] Yet the recent literature of public administration has increasingly emphasized constraints and limitations upon "rationality" and thus, by implication, upon long-range and comprehensive planning.[4] The arguments most relevant here have been those of economists who for a combination of institutional and intellectual reasons have been skeptical of the "efficiency" implied in the "classical" or "neoclassical" organization theory and in central and comprehensive decisions, and who have questioned whether administration—especially in a pluralistic political context—can possibly or profitably operate in a logical and long-range optimizing fashion.[5]

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[1] An excellent treatment, with references to the not voluminous literature, is Jesse Burkhead, *Government Budgeting* (New York, 1956), ch. 8.

[2] For the first view, see Allison Dunham, "A Legal and Economic Basis for City Planning," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 58 (1958), pp. 650–671. For a thoroughgoing statement of the second view, see Rexford G. Tugwell, "Implementing the Public Interest," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 1 (1940), pp. 32–49.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Harvey S. Perloff, "Education of City Planners: Past, Present and Future," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 22 (1956), pp. 186–217; and the rejoinder by James M. Lee, "The Rôle of the Planner in the Present," *ibid.*, Vol. 24 (1958), pp. 151–157. See also Henry Fagin, "Organizing and Carrying Out Planning Activities within Urban Government," *ibid.*, Vol. 25 (1959), pp. 109–114, which appeared after completion of our study and while this article was in a draft.

[4] Though "rationality" is among the slipperiest of terms, we use it here to imply clear-cut and central decisions about goals (usually based upon research into alternatives and consequences) and the more-or-less rigorous "suboptimization" of

Capital programming should provide a good test of these conflicting views of the intellectual and institutional role of planning in city administration (though our treatment is largely confined to its institutional role). Both recommended and ultimate decisions and eventual accomplishments are clear, more-or-less quantified, and recorded. Agencies of planning, administration, and politics are involved at various points in the decision process and so is the entire spectrum of municipal policy in its physical, fiscal, and functional aspects.

The Philadelphia experience should provide an especially critical test for reasons that can only be briefly listed here. Capital programming in that city has attained a reasonable maturity: the process of decision and of ultimate appropriation and execution was mandated in the Home Rule Charter of 1951 and has since been conscientiously implemented by two "reform" administrations. Some say that capital programming is now further developed in Philadelphia than in any other American jurisdiction.[6]

The *political setting* of capital programming i one in which public expectations (as manifes in citizen organizations and the press) appea to support "planning" and "rationality" i City decisions. There is active and organize citizen support for city planning and public improvements, extending from what is loosel termed the "grass roots" to what can equall loosely be termed the "power structure." Whil providing support for the process of capita programming, however, the various citize groups differ over the substance and extent o improvements.[7] The city's "organization" politics offers few obstacles to long-range planning in our observation, and might on balance b classified as a stabilizing factor.[8]

The *governmental setting* seems equally appropriate to a test of planning. Philadelphia i decidedly a strong-mayor city. The small (17-member) Council is partially elected at larg and its role in budgeting and personnel polic is sharply limited by the charter. The mayor i served at the top level by a Managing Director who heads the principal line departments, a Commerce Director in charge of majo transportation *termini* and promotional and commercial facilities, and a Finance Directo under whom most financial functions are centralized. These three officials are *ex officio* mem-

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such decisions at lower administrative levels. The term embodies meanings often given to "coordination" and "efficiency," and emphasizes long-range perspectives. On "efficiency," see Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 2d ed. (New York, 1957), ch. 9.

[5] See C. E. Lindblom, "Policy Analysis," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 48 (1958), pp. 298–312, "Tinbergen on Policy-making," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 66 (1958), pp. 531–538, and "The Science of 'Muddling Through,'" *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 19 (1959), pp. 79–88; and Roland N. McKean, *Efficiency in Government through Systems Analysis* (New York, 1957), Part II.

[6] We are not aware of any written statement to this effect, but several students of municipal government have expressed this view to us. For treatments of the Philadelphia experience, see Aaron Levine, "Philadephia Story: A New Look," *New York Times Magazine*, July 14, 1957, p. 8 ff.; and Edmund N. Bacon, "Capital Programming and Public Policy," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 22 (1956), pp. 35–38. The authors are executive directors of, respectively, the Citizens' Council on City Planning and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

[7] The principal city-wide groups concerned with capital programming are: The Citizens' Council on City Planning; the Philadelphia Housing Association; the Health and Welfare Council; the Chamber of Commerce; the Bureau of Municipal Research-Pennsylvania Economy League; and the Greater Philadelphia Movement (and its auxiliary, the Citizens' Budget Committee). Some idea of the concerns of these groups can be gained from their titles. The last-named (GPM) is a prestigeful and primarily businessmen's organization which has conceived and strongly supported a number of policy and capital improvements; its subsidiary (CBC) is primarily a fiscal watchdog agency. The leading interests of the other organizations broadly include: tax-consciousness, government organization and reform, welfare and social service, urban renewal and housing, industrial promotion and renewal, and citizen involvement in planning. Some of these agencies reach into the neighborhoods directly or through affiliates.

[8] For a recent study see James Reichley, *The Art of Government: Reform and Organization Politics in Philadelphia* (New York, The Fund for the Republic, 1959).

bers of the quasi-independent Planning Commission. The small number of departments and the Planning Commission are highly professionalized. Urban renewal and transportation policy alone cut athwart the remainder of the administration, and these functions are served by coordinators in the mayor's office.[9] In summary, government in Philadelphia generally conforms to the conventional canons of "sound" city organization. A more favorable setting for long-range planning in a still highly pluralistic society would seem hard to find.

Our study of capital programming in Philadelphia began with an examination of its "stability"—that is, of the extent to which projects and allocations in the later years of six-year programs actually move forward on their original schedule to budgeting and execution. Taken in this sense stability should provide a good (though not literally sufficient) index of the effectiveness of long-range planning. Our unequivocal finding was that the process was characterized by a marked lack of stability as here defined, even allowing for the vicissitudes of intergovernmental grants, "forced" deferred maintenance, and acts of God.[10] This led us to an analysis of the main institutional processes bearing upon stability and instability. The characteristic roles of public agencies (though not, by and large, of private parties) are discussed in the remainder of this paper.

II

Since 1952 capital programming decisions in Philadelphia have tended to gravitate from the Planning Commission to the administrative line. While the literature of public administration would suggest such a development, expectations surrounding capital programming in Philadelphia appear to point rather to a definitive (though penultimate) allocative (as well as integrative) role for the Planning Commission.[11] Though its intent was somewhat obscured by the *ex officio* device, the charter evidently envisaged such a role for the Planning Commission, and the Commission evidently performed a more decisive role in adjudicating among agencies and allocating funds in the early years than it has more recently.

Capital budget and program requests usually originate with the departments and are revised and assembled in the capital program and budget by the Planning Commission. The recommendations of the Commission go to the Mayor for review and eventual transmittal to Council, which must adopt a capital budget as an actual appropriation for the year ahead and a capital program as a six-year guide. Neither budget nor program can be amended without requesting the advice of the Planning Commission. Not all of the capital program receives the same treatment in the initial and reviewing stages. Some items—they are usually "lumpy" and exigent—are matters of top administrative policy and receive their impetus or their argument from the mayor and his cabinet. The remainder of the program is finally settled at the level of the staff principals and deputies in the Planning Commission, the Managing Director's office, the Finance Director's office, and the office of the Director of Commerce. For the most part these decisions result from a collective, constant, cooperative, and consultative process which, however, is not without administrative bargaining at departmental and cabinet levels. In this process it now appears that the point of most influence is the Managing Director's office.

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[9] See Lennox L. Moak, "Background and Principal Features of the Philadelphia Charter," Appendix 1-A of Leverett S. Lyon, ed., *Modernizing A City Government* (Chicago, 1954); and Joseph S. Clark, Jr., "Experience with Philadelphia's New Charter," *ibid.*, Appendix 1-B.

[10] Space precludes extensive documentation of the point here, though we have made a number of measurements in terms of funds and projects. Many changes are made between the second year of any capital program and the year following when it becomes a capital budget; and changes measured from the more remote years of capital programs are even more numerous and sizeable even though the most remote years are "filled up" to the $25 million ceiling on annual tax-supported city funds. In the 1959 capital budget no department's appropriation differed (up or down) by less than 13% from the previous year's schedule; 6 departments showed changes of more than 30% and one department of more than 100%. Eleven departments are included, and the net dollar changes tend to hide a number of project changes. *Most* projects and appropriations, moreover, are amended during the executory period of capital budgets.

[11] For a representative statement in the literature of public administration, see Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor A. Thompson, *Public Administration* (New York, 1950), ch. 20, esp. pp. 442–447. The prevailing Philadelphia view is expressed in the following editorial comment on an issue between City Council and Planning Commission: " . . . the Planning Commission is only doing its job when it reshuffles priorities. Its purpose is to consider the City as a whole, and to balance desirable capital spending ideas against each other, and against the amount of money which may be spent. Without overall planning, the Commission would have no function. City building would then descend to pork-barrel tactics. . . ." *The Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia) 27 October 1958.

The principal factors in line predominance appear to be the following:

(1) The importance of being on the spot and active in day-to-day operations is considerable; policies (or projects) tend to emerge from ongoing operations or immediate necessities.

(2) There has been an improvement in long-range planning in the departments stimulated, in fact, by the role of the Planning Commission in programming and the demand for better project justifications. Progress has varied among departments because of substantive difficulties and factors of leadership and bargaining power. Such plans as there are fall into three main types: (a) efforts at broad definitions of public responsibilities in certain fields (*e.g.*, medical care for the needy) which have been produced by broadly representative committees; (b) essays at standards for services and facilities (*e.g.*, recreation space standards) embodying in varying degree existing professional standards; and (c) attempts simply to schedule facilities, modernizations or improvements, generally but not always on the basis of some data on age or cost (*e.g.*, the replacement of water mains). Actually, few detailed, written departmental plans are in existence.

(3) The Managing Director is formally charged with coordination of most departments. The City's Managing Directors have been able and vigorous, and have believed that the principal responsibility for all aspects of forward planning save overall physical planning should rest with the departments rather than with the Planning Commission.

(4) The Managing Director's office has kept a rather tight grip on the departments through central staff work in reviewing their operating and capital budgets. It has instituted an initial screening of departmental capital project requests both at their inception and on an overall basis before their submission to the Planning Commission. The rigor of this preliminary screening has varied among departments but has increased in recent years. It has reflected the Managing Director's view of a reasonable capital allocation among agencies and his judgment of projects' chances of survival later in the reviewing process. The Planning Commission, for its part, has often cut departments financially, leaving to them the decisions as to which projects are to be eliminated or deferred (save for those projects that raise problems of integration with one another or with the Commission's developing land-use projections and policies). Not infrequently the Managing Director intervenes at this stage also.

(5) Recently the administrative screening process has been extended and formalized by creation of a cabinet subcommittee charged with reviewing the "big" projects of large displacement that are the troublemakers in capital programming.[12] Naturally, this means scanning the capital program as a whole to see what projects can be deferred or displaced. The subcommittee does not finally decide these points; it reports to the Cabinet which then decides and communicates its decision to the Planning Commission. While the Commission staff may not follow the policy of the Cabinet, it will know that the *ex officio* Commission members will be following that line in Planning Commission meetings.

(6) The *ex officio* device has all along given substantial weight to the administration members of the Commission, but it has left to the Commission a function of arbitrating or adjudicating those cases in which the *ex officio* members were unable to reach prior agreement. Such cases were not infrequent in the past, but the cabinet subcommittee appears to have reduced their number.

(7) The ability of the Planning Commission to cope with its *ex officio* members has depended upon the information and interest of the Commissioners respecting the capital program. While these appear to have been considerable in the early years, there is much testimony to the effect that they have declined. Chairmen excepted, many Commissioners have attended hearings and meetings on the capital program less frequently in recent years and have tended to concentrate on a few pet projects. The role of the Commission's staff *vis à vis* the Commission appears to have grown, and it may be that some commission "marasmus" has set in where capital programming is concerned.[13]

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[12] Members of the subcommittee are the Managing Director, Finance Director, Director of Commerce, and Development Coordinator.

[13] These observations apply only to the Commission's work in capital programming. Some informants have argued that, as the outline and specific requests of capital programs have matured and become familiar, less detailed Commission consideration is necessary to control of the program. This argument would not, however, appear to affect our conclusions about the Commission's role in relation to its *ex officio* members and its staff, and several informants who are very close to the Commission agree with our conclusions.

(8) Two staff divisions of the Planning Commission are involved in capital program review and assembly; these are the Projects Division and the Comprehensive Planning Division. The latter has entered the picture only in recent years, reviewing departmental requests for conformance with the City's projected comprehensive plan. This review has not had much influence to date—despite the imminence of the comprehensive plan—because that plan has been tentative and has provided broad standards, projections and goals rather than concrete criteria for fund and project allocations.[14] The Projects Divison is formally in charge of assembling the capital budget and program and, on the testimony of those most closely involved, the decisions result from informed judgment rather than explicit criteria. The leading members of the Division are long-time City servants (not trained planners) who know intimately the departments and attendant political pressures. They consciously and continuously supplement desk and drawing board decisions with the gleanings of sidewalk and corridor conversations. They have been prone to recognize that the range of choice for the Commission is limited by continuing programs, administrative and Councilmanic attitudes, top-level policies and popular demands for some projects working their way forward in the program. Their decisions thus rest substantially upon (a) their knowledge of the projects' etiology in the departments and their assessment of departmental planning and appraisal of "need," and (b) the "law of anticipated reactions" with reference to administration and Council. Integrative and long-term considerations are far from being ignored but the Projects Division lacks explicit criteria. The nature and sources of its information and the personal background of its members probably cause it to act to some extent as a buffer between administrators and planners.[15]

The Commission's role remains a significant one. Its vigorous Chairmen have prevailed in numerous policy decisions; generally they have been consulted in such decisions. Its prestige has given weight to its occasional protests over projects or scheduling. It has been conceded a genuine role of an integrative sort in the prevention of future diseconomies through conflicting projects or land uses or (from the City-wide view) inefficient scheduling. Increasingly the administration has been attending to some of these aspects itself, thus restraining the integrative role of the Planning Commission from becoming one of thoroughgoing allocation, but the Commission will clearly continue to play a role in identifying and shaping long-range goals and in integrating the scheduling of projects over the shorter run.

III

Philadelphia's capital budgets and programs are, in the first instance, shaped by processes of planning and administration designed to maximize integration and the long view, and the City Charter seeks to maximize administrative initiative *vis à vis* Council. Capital programs are bulky and complex and the annual capital budgets carry more than a hundred line items, thus complicating Council's role in long-range planning. In general, it is clear that the administration has the initiative, but Council is nonetheless active in capital programming—largely through shifts in scheduling of projects rather than through their initiation, or the broad review of policies. Its effect is felt in three main ways, which may be briefly reviewed.

(1) Council tends to exert pressure for regional parity in the distribution of projects, for four apparent reasons. One is the structure of Council, in which ten of the seventeen Councilmen are elected from districts.[16] Councilmen agree that district and at-large members have characteristically different orientations to capital programming.[17] A second distributive tend-

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[14] This conclusion rests upon testimony of some staff members of the Division and of other divisions, and upon our own comparisons of the recommendations of the Comprehensive Planning Division with the Planning Commission's final capital program document.

[15] Though perhaps peculiar to Philadelphia, it may be worth noting that there are differences in orientation toward capital programming within the Planning Commission relating to function and background. Thus, the Projects Division relies upon administrative contacts and "informed judgment"; the Comprehensive Planning Division is interested in more abstract and categorical analysis; the executive director relies a good deal upon personal identification with the city and upon esthetic and fluid rather than categorical and abstract approaches; and the Commissioners' approaches appear to be quite individual.

[16] The Charter provides that each district shall contain approximately 10% of the population by the decennial census, and the districts are, in fact, fairly equal in population. The total voting population of the city is about 1 million, so the districts are quite populous.

[17] One Democratic Councilman-at-large, who lives in a district now represented by a Republican, told us that he is under constant pressure from his party leadership to "represent" that district, and that he takes great care to avoid

ency probably lies in the legislative process of decision, which is said to lend itself more to trading and logrolling than does hierarchical organization. Philadelphia's Council, dominated by one party, takes its capital program decisions in the closed caucus of that party, and the decision is reportedly characterized by a good deal of trading in which the party leadership is careful to see that everyone gets something to show his district, though no one gets all he wants. A third factor doubtless tending toward regional parity, and accentuating Council's concern for this value in comparison with the administration's, is the fact that most Councilmen are members of the dominant Democratic "organization," while the Mayor is not and is frequently at odds with it. A frequent generalization about big-city political organization runs to the effect that, while it is capable of achieving some centralization and overview, its most basic virtues are sectional responsiveness and flexibility.[18] The following news item is illustrative:

> Democratic Ward leaders in the Northeast will ask that $250,000 which was stricken from the capital program for acquisition of land for recreation purposes be restored, it was announced today.
>
> The leaders met Monday with City Council leaders to discuss with them the needs of the Northeast area. . . .
>
> This item was knocked from the program by the City Planning Commission, (Councilman) McDevitt said. "All of the Northeast Democratic leaders are pledged to have this item reinstated. The Councilmen who met with us indicated agreement with this and have agreed to have this item added to the 1959–64 Capital Program."[19]

Finally, government and city-wide citizen organizations in Philadelphia have actively encouraged and created citizen organizations in the neighborhoods. The political party is far from being the only method of voicing or creating local demands. Administrative agencies, as well as district Councilmen, work closely with the neighborhood groups, which are alert to capital program decisions and mark the progress of relevant items in the printed Capital Program. Thus, the news account just quoted had its origin in a review of the Planning Commission's capital program recommendations by the Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council, which notified its Northeast Area Committee, which put "heat" on the Democratic organization and on a Councilman who was already faced with a difficult primary fight.

City informants agree that Council is more solicitous of regional parity than either the administration or Planning Commission; but, to the extent that the other parties endeavor to anticipate Council, the tendency toward parity spreads beyond Council. Council's regional distributive bent shows up chiefly in annual scheduling decisions. While the administration is likely to attempt a measure of geographical distribution in the six-year program as a whole, Council tends to make this an annual goal.[20]

(2) Council exhibits a marked tendency toward financial conservatism. It has strongly supported the existing $25 million ceiling on tax-supported City funds in capital budgets and has usually cut the budget somewhat below this figure, accomplishing still further reductions during the execution of the budget. The relative tight-fistedness of Council challenges explanation, since city councils might be expected to approximate more closely than other governmental bodies the model of Anthony Downs, in which governments spend up to the point at which the financing of projects outweighs in adverse votes the votes gained from the projects themselves; and because the chief pressures upon councils might be expected to be spending rather than retrenching pressures.[21]

We think there are two explanations of Council's fiscal conservatism, and that both are about equally important. One relates to the representative structure of Council and the distribution of organized attitudes and interests in the city. The small Council, partially elected at-large, with a strong leadership based in an entrenched party organization, appears to respond to the several city-wide citizen organizations that serve as fiscal watchdogs.[22] Signifi-

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being labeled as the Councilman from that district in order to preserve his independence and breadth of view.

[18] For a recent discussion, see Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield, *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955), chs. 3, 9–11.

[19] *The Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia) 12 November 1958, p. 24.

[20] Space precludes a detailed discussion; but examination of Council's decisions, and a comparison of them with those of the Planning Commission and administration, bears out the thesis put forward here.

[21] Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York, 1957). Downs' simplified theoretical model does not include separated governmental powers, however; and it appears to deal mainly with operating expenditures, or, at least, reasonably divisible expenditures.

[22] *Cf.* the discussion in Leverett Lyon, *op. cit.*, ch. 4. There Gilbert Y. Steiner, discussing the ad-

cantly, the fiscal conservatism of Council is centered in its leadership rather than in the rank-and-file, and serves as something of a counterweight to the pressures for regional distribution discussed above. A second explanation relates Council's fiscal conservatism to its governmental, rather than its political, role. On this view, Council's economizing tactics can be seen as an aspect of legislative-administrative rivalry, as a reaction to the administrative budgetary initiatives provided in the strong-mayor Charter, as a means of publicly demonstrating some form of budgetary participation and control, and—in the absence of more formal criteria for investment decisions—of forcing detailed project justifications from departments and administration.

(3) Council's orientation to capital programming tends to be immediate and concrete rather than long-run and abstract. It is more interested in capital budgets than in the program as a whole, and displays little interest at all in the remote years of capital programs. Its principal point of assertion is in the scheduling of projects rather than in overall allocations or the initiation of projects, though a few projects are conceived or introduced by Councilmen and scheduling changes in capital budgets of course produce changes in programs. Councilmen argue that *they* are the "experts" on scheduling since they know what the people want at the moment.

Such abstract investment criteria as professional standards for service levels and facilities, or land use prescriptions, do not weigh heavily with Council, but it is difficult to show that the legislative body consistently favors certain types of projects at the expense of others. It is commonly said that Council prefers "visible" projects (*e.g.*, health centers over storm sewers), by which is really meant "politically popular," and *most* projects command popularity in *some* quarters. It is clear that recreation centers, health centers, and fire stations have been especially popular in Council and that libraries have had an indifferent reception; but there are two qualifications on any order of preferences. One is that projects of all types have been deferred in Council to make room for exigent items at administrative urging (recreation centers lend themselves to this treatment because they are numerous and individually inexpensive); the other is that Councilmanic attitudes (particularly among the leadership) seem to be undergoing some change. More receptivity to "economic base" projects at some cost to "welfare" projects is in evidence today than was the case three or four years ago—a change that may reflect recent progress and a widely acknowledged "catching up" in some welfare fields, together with the fiscal conservatism of Council's leadership and of other influential groups. But the political appeal of "welfare" projects remains strong, as election campaigns indicate.

Two general comments are in order respecting Council's participation in capital programming. One is that there are conflicting tendencies and orientations within Council itself—*e.g.*, between regional or neighborhood parity and fiscal conservatism—and that these tendencies marginally distinguish the leadership from the rank-and-file with respect to political pressures and tactics. The other comment is that, despite the complexity of capital programming and the administrative initiative it entails, Council's activity in scheduling indicates a continuing legislative role in relating "planning" to popular tastes and utilities. Capital programs, unlike operating budgets, closely approach the "alternative budget" conception in giving Council a cafeteria of projects to choose among. Given the offical promises in printed capital programs, popular interest in the projects, and organized reactions and importunities, Council is likely to amend the judgments of professionals and planners by applying its own political conclusions respecting the people's wants.[23] It should be added, however, that amendments by Council account directly for only a small proportion of the "instability" noted above in Philadelphia's capital programming; *most* deviations from the capital program result from decisions in the administration and Planning Commission, and from delays and amendments during execution of the capital budget.

IV

Generally speaking, the time horizons of the planners outrun those of the administrators; administrators take a somewhat longer view than the mayor's; and the time horizons of Council are the shortest of all. For many planners, of

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vantages of election at-large *versus* election by districts, suggests that the "city-wide" interests that are alleged to prevail over "local" interests in councils elected at-large are chiefly interests in tax reduction, whereas the "local" interests tend to favor projects. Three citizen organizations in Philadelphia are primarily based upon tax and fiscal concerns; Council's leading fiscal monitor is elected at-large.

[23] On the "alternative budget" proposal see Verne B. Lewis, "Toward a Theory of Budgeting," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 12 (1952), p. 42 ff.

course, such a statement simply amounts to an implicit definition of "planning," "administration," and "politics."[24] The use of the comprehensive plan as a guide to capital budgeting, or the emphasis upon spending today for site acquisition rather than on immediate improvements, are both commonplace evidences of the planner's concern with the long-run.

Administrators might be expected to be less firmly committed to the future, more committed to flexibility in decision and action. The administrator is skeptical about the ability of anyone to predict accurately the circumstances under which he will be operating in two or three years, let alone six or twenty. His attitude may reflect in part the importance he attaches to administrative detail as a determinant of decision and action; in part it may be a reflex bow to the political environment. In any event, some of Philadelphia's top overhead administrators evince some feeling that even six-year capital programming tends to hamper administrative initiatives and action, and that a better procedure might be one in which departmental plans were only roughly blocked out in capital programs for, say, a three-year period, thus reserving funds but reserving, too, the right to change course when necessary and to determine details at a later date. Although long-range planning in the departments has increased in recent years, such plans fall far short of definite commitments in most cases and leave ample room for adjustment. Administrators are inclined to defend flexibility in capital budget execution—a process that has to date been quite unpredictable. Though it is now general practice to schedule funds for project planning and site acquisition for the first year of the project, with the larger construction funds following later, capital budgets are still amended freely in the executory period. This period (the capital budget "fiscal year") consists of eighteen months, but several top administrators have argued for its extension.

The mayor actively intervenes in capital programming only in the case of major policy decisions and implications. Informants in the City government generally agree that neither of Philadelphia's mayors since 1952 has had a capital program, though each has pressed certain pet projects, programs or general but imprecisely defined emphases respecting the direction of city development. Both mayors have characteristically reserved major capital policy decisions until as late as possible; though both have on occasion attempted to take leadership for certain projects and, on a few occasions have retreated in the face of opposition. To the extent that firm investment decisions were made for the long-run the mayor's freedom to respond to or manipulate the pressures on his office would probably be reduced and his political risks would probably be enhanced. Generally, then, and with some exceptions, it would *a priori* seem to be to the mayor's advantage to postpone decisions; the exceptions relate to the testing of public reactions or the heading off of developing opposition. In Philadelphia a large proportion of the major policy items (which tend to be "lumpy" items) enter the capital budget late in the game and have often not appeared at all in the capital program.

The short time horizon of Council has already been discussed. The mayor, due to his city-wide constituency and his administrative protection, is probably not as exposed as Council to a broad range of immediate pressures. While the hypothesis of a kind of hierarchy of perspectives of the sort discussed here is widely current, its illustration in this instance may be worthwhile because of its implications for long-range planning and central decision. Much of the "instability" of capital program decisions probably results from the differing time horizons of participants in the decisions, and these differences in perspective seem embedded in institutional activities, interests, and pressures.

V

Until quite recently there has been little interest in or employment of explicit or formal criteria in departmental programming or central review and allocation.[25] One key official in the process aptly describes it as "more like peeling an apple than slicing a pie." Sophisticated economic analyses or professional standards are difficult to develop and apply because of measurement problems and frequently arbitrary assumptions, and a few City officials have hoped that the long-awaited comprehensive plan (which is mandated by the City Charter) would provide scheduling criteria. Others probably hope it will never arrive, distrusting its inflexibility; still others doubt that the plan will greatly change or govern capital programming. But there are other reasons for reliance upon "informed judgment" besides these.

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[24] For a classical statement in the planning literature that planning means (1) applying the factor of adjustment and coordination among competing ideas, specialties and pressures, (2) supplying the long-range view and counteracting the pressures of the moment, and (3) research and data-gathering free from the pressures of the moment, see Alfred Bettman, *City and Regional Planning Papers* (Cambridge, 1946), ch. 5.

[25] There have been continuing overhead efforts to sharpen project cost estimates relative to both capital and operating budgets, but these efforts are of a different order from formal criteria for decision, though they might facilitate their use.

One is a complex of administrative factors. Philadelphia, like many cities, emerged from the years of depression and World War II with its physical plant run down to the point where a number of "underdeveloped area" analogies applied, and it lacked a vigorous administration until 1952. When thoroughgoing capital programming began under the Charter of 1951, large allocations went for deferred maintenance and were simply "forced."[26] While substantial "forced" allocations are probably a thing of the past, each capital budget contains a number of lines of "continuing programs" or recurring expenditures—some of them simply deferred maintenance.[27] The fact that roughly one quarter of the tax-supported segment of capital budgets consists in such programs and that nearly one-half is comprised of projects only secondarily related to land-use planning probably tends to reinforce administrative initiatives, judgment and flexibility in capital programming and to narrow the area of explicit decision open to planners in the field of their principal and traditional expertise.[28] Intergovernmental aids in selected fields appear to narrow reviewing discretion somewhat further and to lend leverage to particular departments. Thus, the Planning Commission's Projects Division finds that, within the $25 million tax-supported limit, there is annually only $10 to $13 million to manipulate, once allowance has been made for administrative "givens" and political pressures (sometimes building on the prescriptive prior appearance of projects in capital programs). Finally, the emphasis of the Clark and Dilworth administrations upon energizing and professionalizing the departments has probably encouraged "flexibility" and "informed judgment" at the expense of formal standards and criteria in departmental programming.

A complex of political factors has seemingly served as a second discouragement to the adoption of formal criteria. The 1951 election overturned an administration of many years' incumbency and was fought by the victors with emphasis on specific reforms as well as general City redemption. It could be argued from the tenor of the campaign and the drama of the victory that the new administration had a mandate for large-scale development that would support its leadership and judgment on issues upon which campaign promises or emphases provided no guidance. On the assumption that the City was badly run down and "behind," it could further be argued that political demands should not be discounted nor administrative responsiveness discouraged; that expressed demands reflected real needs and that large (if intangible) returns would accrue to projects that commanded political support. We are not aware that such arguments received explicit statement during the Clark administration (1952–1956); we simply suggest that they provide a rationale for the fact that the use of informal political and professional judgments was generally accepted without debate in the early period of capital programming.

VI

Nonetheless, as the City catches up to what are by publics and professionals considered more satisfactory levels of service, and as the comprehensive plan approaches completion (it is expected in 1960), the pressures for more complete and sophisticated project justifications are likely to mount.[29] Such pressures will probably be resisted by those departments that are politically and administratively in a good bargaining position (*e.g.*, the Streets Department), but political necessity as well as professional pride may foster more long-range planning in other departments. Such plans have now appeared in a very few departments; but, for the most part, they constitute adumbrations of departmental responsibilities rather than the articulation of standards from which the programming of facilities might in turn be derived.

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[26] A striking example occurred as late as 1955 when, as a result of State and City inspections, some 24 bridges were declared unsafe, facing the administration with a choice between closing down important parts of the City's circulation system or repairing the bridges immediately at a large sacrifice to the rest of the capital program. The second alternative was chosen and the current capital budget and capital program were drastically revised to accommodate the deferred maintenance. Ultimately, some of the bridges were simply posted with weight limits and remain to be repaired.

[27] For example, such programs for the Streets Department total about $3.5 million annually within the $25 million limit, and have deviated by more than $25,000 from that total in no year save 1955 (on which see the previous note). The programs are: grading and new paving; street openings; street lighting; unallocated engineering services; traffic signals; road construction and paving in Fairmount Park; construction of traffic islands.

[28] For an argument, on this basis, for narrowing the content of capital programs in New York City to primarily land-use-related items, see Frederick C. Mosher, "Fiscal Planning and Budgeting in New York City," in *Report* of the New York State-New York City Fiscal Relations Committee (New York, 1956), pp. 65–84 at pp. 80–81.

This experience in part reflects intellectual as well as institutional difficulties in the formulation of formal criteria for capital programming. Without taking the space to argue the point here, it may be said that: derivation of service "standards" from broad statements of "responsibilities" or goals is often a logically loose enterprise; that most existing professional standards, on the contrary, imply goals without making them explicit, lack inter-agency comparability, and often tend only to rationalize pressure group claims; that insofar as city planners' comprehensive plans simply embody such standards elsewhere than in land-use fields they are unlikely to afford a basis for capital program allocations; and that techniques of economic analysis (such as benefit-cost or rate-of-return) are limited today to a few fields. At the same time, comprehensive plans, while affording a basis for the *integration* of projects, are unlikely to afford a basis for firm *allocations* unless they embody a more specific articulation of goals than the political agencies or the publics of Philadelphia have yet provided or seem likely to provide, on the findings presented above.

Thus the institutional and intellectual constraints upon long-range planning appear mutually reinforcing and in the political and administrative pluralism of the metropolis there is probably a more-or-less irreducible minimum of both. Philadelphia, we think, is close to the institutional minimum, and the intellectual problems of planning and "suboptimization" remain to be solved. Our findings on the lack of "stability" in capital programming and its institutional bases, together with the intellectual difficulties with comprehensive planning as a basis for central capital allocations, lead us to conclude that the comprehensive plan is as likely to follow from the process and substance of capital programming as *vice versa.* If this is so, attention should then be centered upon the *process* of capital programming for the procedural desiderata that it may serve.

Four principal conclusions can be derived from the foregoing. (1) Political and administrative forces, working together, induce instability (*i.e.*, limit long-range planning) as well as stability. There are conflicting tendencies, but the institutional constraints upon long-range planning are real. (2) On this interpretation, the probable role of the planning agency in capital programming is basically one of *research* and project *integration*; though to some extent research may gravitate toward the definition of goals, and integration may approach allocation through temporal scheduling decisions and deferrals. (3) To some extent the constraints upon long-range planning result from a perhaps inevitable diffusion of responsibility in the process; yet the machinery described above is probably as centralized as that of any American municipal government.[30] It seems doubtful that a reorganization of planning would have much effect upon stability, though it might adversely affect other desiderata.[31] (4) Several other ends are served by the process. Administrative initiative, energy, and competence are encouraged. It provides a "rational" context for popular consultation through the pre-provision of alternatives and of temporal and regional perspectives on benefits and costs. It encourages the contributions of city planning in the land-use field of its traditional competence and provides a broader field for planning research. These are important accomplishments by which Philadelphia has been well served and, in the light of them, the tentative nature of long-range planning may be unimportant. Expectations of stable or predictable long-range planning are likely to be disappointed; they are also likely to conflict with other ends.

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[29] The comprehensive plan did appear in 1960. It is too early to assess its effect on capital programs, but it may be noted that its statements as to goals and levels of service tend to be broad ones.

[30] Compare the discussion of the effectiveness of "comprehensive" planning and its relation to governmental organization in Meyerson and Banfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–275.

[31] On the organization of planning see, *e.g.*, Robert A. Walker, *The Planning Function in Urban Government*, 2d ed., (Chicago, 1951); Henry C. Fagin, *op. cit.*; and Fagin and C. McKim Norton, "Physical and Fiscal Planning," in New York State-New York City Fiscal Relations Committee, *Report* (New York, 1956), pp. 85–94. The last is most expressly aimed at capital programming.

CRITICAL ELECTIONS IN ILLINOIS: 1888–1958*

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In the past seventy years, lasting reorientations of the national electorate have taken place in two periods, centering about the presidential elections of 1896 and 1918. Most other presidential elections have involved relatively uniform swings of states or counties toward one party or the other; Louis Bean summarized this phenomenon in his chapter title, "As Your State Goes, So Goes the Nation."[1] But the occasions when this uniform swing does not occur are of special interest, because if the reorientations persist they can mark the injection of new issues into national and state politics for a generation. Lubell noted the importance of the "Al Smith revolution" which preceded the "Roosevelt revolution";[2] and Key, naming these phenomena "critical elections," went on to show that Bryan's candidacy in 1896 marked an earlier major reorientation of the electorate.[3] He defined a critical election as one in which "the depth and intensity of electoral involvement are high, in which more or less profound readjustments occur in the relations of power within the community, and in which new and durable electoral groupings are formed."[4]

Since no sample survey data are available for either 1896 or 1928, the systematic study of voting in these elections must rest largely on analysis of voting statistics. These statistics can be interpreted more fully with the aid of census data, together with other historical materials.[5] But the statistics for these elections and the intervening periods are so voluminous that they cannot be efficiently exploited without the use of electronic computation. Even Gosnell's extensive correlational analysis of votes by counties in various states in the 1920s and 1930s covered a relatively short historical period.[6] With the aid of a computer, the researcher can look at critical elections and party history from a more truly historical perspective, and thus reduce the risk of generalizing merely on the basis of a short period of time or unrepresentative data.

We shall be concerned principally with critical elections in Illinois during the past seventy years—both the processes by which reorientations of the vote occurred and the population groups that were most clearly involved in them. Starting with the two elections chosen by Key for analysis—1928 and 1896—we shall show that in each case a "critical period" rather than a single "critical election" may fruitfully be examined; that state as well as national candidacies played a distinct part in each reorientation; that votes for certain offices reflected the new forces most rapidly, while others lagged behind; and that third-party votes have functioned as a "halfway house" in transitions of voters between the two major parties. Key recognizes some of these aspects of critical elections: the notions that prior third-party votes (*e.g.*, the LaFollette vote in 1924) may function in this way, and that these reorientations may extend over a longer period than a single election, are both suggested when he writes:

> . . . The great reshuffling of voters that occurred in 1928 was perhaps the final and decisive stage in a process that had been under way for some time. The antecedent process involved a relatively

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[1] *How to Predict Elections* (New York, 1948), ch. 10.

[2] Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York, 1952), p. 35.

[3] V. O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 17 (1955), pp. 1–18.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[5] The value of cooperation between history and other social sciences has been pointed out, for example, by R. D. Challener and M. Lee, Jr., in "History and the Social Sciences: The Problem of Communications," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 46 (1956), pp. 331–338; and by Lee Benson in "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in M. Komarovsky (ed.), *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), pp. 113–183.

[6] H. F. Gosnell, *Grass Roots Politics* (Washington, 1942).

heavy support for La Follette in those towns in which Smith was subsequently to find special favor.[7]

I. CRITICAL ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ILLINOIS

Reorientations of the Illinois electorate, mirroring those of the nation, occurred in 1896 and 1928. This can be shown by relatively simple statistical techniques without computers. Correlations between the votes by counties at successive elections show a decrease when a realignment occurs; the durability of the realignment can be tested by examination of correlations between non-successive elections.[8] A simpler approach to the same problem is to examine the shift in per cent Democratic vote for each county from one election to the next, and to calculate the dispersion of the distribution of these shifts for each pair of elections. A distribution of these shifts has been presented by Butler in a study of British elections; for the transition between 1951 and 1955, the dispersion of this distribution, as measured by its semi-interquartile range, was less than 2.5 per cent.[9]

Graphs of the semi-interquartile range of this distribution for transitions between presidential elections in the United States by states, and for Illinois by counties, are shown in Figure 1. For Illinois, as for the nation, there are two principal peaks on the graph at the electoral transitions of 1892–1896 and 1924–1928. The curve for Illinois lies generally lower than that for the United States; even though smaller geographical units are used in the Illinois calculations, the shifts within the state are more uniform than those in the nation. In 1928 the extent of reorientation in Illinois was nearly as great as that in the nation, while in 1896 it was considerably less.[10]

Thus for the study of these critical elections we can take Illinois as somewhat representative of the nation as a whole, though perhaps less so during the 1890s. Standing, as it does, between the eastern urban and midwestern farm interests, Illinois contains something of both political tendencies, and so shows swings in both directions even in a transition that was as strongly regional as that of 1896. New England states, in contrast, showed only overall changes toward the Republicans in 1896, but not internal realignments such as appeared in the nation as a whole. Key notes that the 1896 election in New England "did not form a new division in which partisan lines grew more congruent with lines separating classes, religions, or other social groups."[11]

II. PROCEDURE FOR ANALYSIS

Key's notion of an election at which new and durable electoral groupings are formed requires examination not only of the relations between votes at successive elections, but also of relations at greater intervals. For a period within which only one such reorientation occurred, we would observe certain patterns of correlation between the votes in pairs of elections, averaged over sub-areas such as states or counties. All the elections before the reorientation should show high correlations with one another; all elections afterward should also be highly correlated; but any election before the critical transition should show a lesser correlation with any election afterward.

The problem of discovering two such groupings of elections is a special case of the general one faced by factor analysis or principal component analysis. Using these techniques, we might analyze the correlations between all possible pairs of elections in the period in question, and try to find two clusters of elections, each of which reflected a quality of the vote distinct from the other. If there was a single critical election in the period, factor analysis should yield two closely correlated factors, each cor-

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[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

[8] This method is used in V. O. Key, Jr., and F. Munger, "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana," in E. Burdick and A. J. Brodbeck (eds.), *American Voting Behavior* (Glencoe, 1959), p. 458 n. 23. It has also been demonstrated for a longer period in Milton J. Blustein, "Voting Tradition and Socio-Economic Factors in the 1936 Presidential Election in Illinois," M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1950, p. 50.

[9] D. E. Butler, *The British General Election of 1955* (London, 1955), pp. 202–203. This value is low in comparison with the United States, but comparable with Illinois figures.

[10] For evidence that Illinois participated only moderately in the 1896 reorientation, see H. C. Nixon, "The Cleavage Within the Farmers' Alliance Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 15 (1928), pp. 22–23. The dispersion of shifts at each of these two transitions may have been influenced by the presence of a third-party vote at the prior presidential election. Third-party votes will be considered in more detail below. The data presented in Figure 1 are intended only to show that Illinois manifests the same sort of reorientation as the nation.

[11] "A Theory of Critical Elections," *op. cit.*, p. 12.

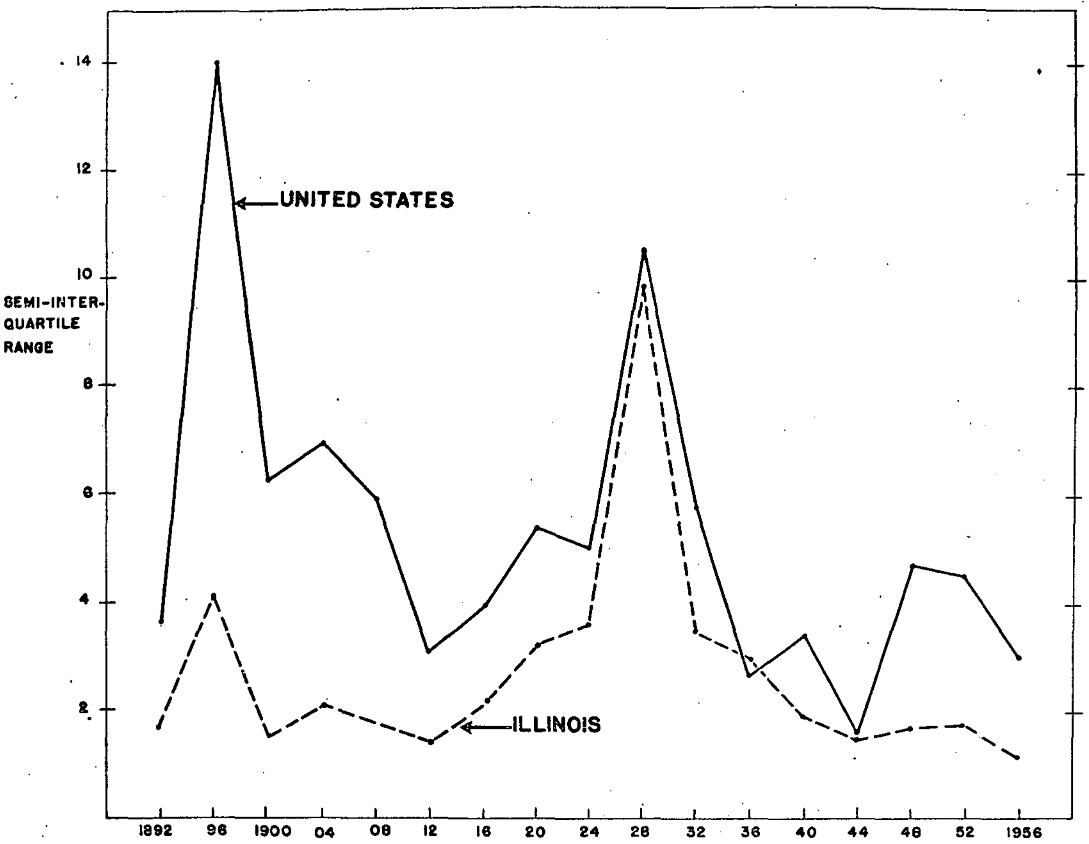

FIG. 1. Dispersion of Shifts Between Presidential Elections.*

* Each point represents a difference between two elections, and is plotted at the second of them. Sources for Illinois data are given below, n. 16. For the United States, sources are L. H. Bean, *How to Predict Elections* (*op. cit.*); *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, 1912); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, Vols. 8, 13 (Washington, 1952, 1957). "Per cent Democratic" is calculated here from the vote cast in each state for the Democratic Presidential candidate as a fraction of the total vote.

responding to a set of elections in a distinct interval of time.[12]

Previous studies have shown, however, that fluctuations in the social base of the vote in the United States normally involve only a relatively small fraction of the electorate, while a large fraction continues to vote according to geographical traditions.[13] This effect can be shown in correlational analysis of Illinois data, over the "critical period" of the 1920s. Table I shows two ways of examining the change in the rural-urban aspect of the vote in the 1920s. We might calculate the correlation between per cent rural-farm and the Democratic vote in each year, and then examine changes in this

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[12] For discussion of the principles of factor analysis see, for example, R. B. Cattell, *Factor Analysis* (New York, 1952). The specific variant with which we are concerned here resembles the P- and O-techniques (Cattell, pp. 102–107). Application of these methods to analysis of election statistics has been proposed by A. R. Baggaley in "Patterns of Voting Change in Wisconsin Counties, 1952–1957," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 12 (1959), pp. 141–144. Principal component analysis, a closely related procedure, is discussed in M. G. Kendall, *A Course in Multivariate Analysis* (New York, 1957).

[13] In "Social Determinism and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana," *op. cit.*, Key and Munger point out the significance of traditional partisan alignments in Indiana counties over periods of thirty years or more. It appears that when electoral alignments change, as in a critical election, a large stable component of the party vote still remains.

TABLE I. CHANGES IN THE RELATION BETWEEN THE RURAL-FARM POPULATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS: ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF CALCULATION.

Year	Two-Year Interval	"Raw" correlation between per cent rural-farm (1930) and vote	Change in r	Correlation of vote *change* with % rural-farm
1920		+.36		
	1920–22		.00	+.12
1922		+.36		
	1922–24		+.08	+.33
1924		+.44		
	1924–26		−.17	−.45
1926		+.27		
	1926–28		−.12	−.41
1928		+.15		
	1928–30		−.02	+.02
1930		+.13		

correlation, ranging between +.08 and −.17. The changing relevance of the rural-farm population to the vote is magnified, however, if we first calculate differences in per cent Democratic for each two-year transition, and correlate these differences with per cent rural-farm; these correlations, generally the same in sign, range from +.33 to −.45. Both these methods of analysis suggest a conclusion to which we shall return: that the 1924–26 and 1926–28 transitions contributed approximately equally to the electoral reorientation of that time.

Because a large fraction of the vote is traditional, even in periods of electoral reorientation, we should expect the two factors discussed above—for elections before and after the critical one—to be highly correlated. For this reason the reorientation involved in a critical election can be seen more clearly if the constant or "traditional" component of the vote is removed. This can be done by setting aside not only the average vote (*e.g.*, per cent Democratic) in each election, as would ordinarily be done in calculating correlation coefficients, but also the average vote for each geographical subunit. Thus in Illinois, after subtracting the election average, we further correct the per cent Democratic for each county by subtracting that county's average residual per cent Democratic from all residual percentages for that county. The result is that the first principal component of what remains is a single dimension distinguishing (in positive and negative terms) between the two opposing tendencies related to the critical election. Whether a critical election actually occurred in a given period can be judged from the temporal pattern, and magnitude, of the loadings on this principal component.

If the procedure above is carried out, the results can be arranged in rectangular matrix form where each row corresponds to a county and each column to an election. The element in the ith row and jth column will then be

$$X_{ij} = D_{ij} - \overline{D}_i - \overline{D}_j + \overline{D}_{..},$$

where

D_{ij} = the initial per cent Democratic of the total vote for county i in election j;

$\overline{D}_i$ = the mean per cent Democratic for county i over all the elections being considered;

$\overline{D}_j$ = the mean per cent Democratic for all counties at a given election;

$\overline{D}_{..}$ = the overall mean per cent Democratic (for all counties at all elections considered).[14]

Let this data matrix be referred to as X and its transpose as X'. We then compute by "direct factor analysis" the first principal component of XX' and at the same time of $X'X$.[15]

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[14] It should be noted that weighting all counties equally in this analysis leads to a stress on rural areas. In principle this bias can be remedied by studying urban units as well, as Gosnell has done in *Machine Politics, Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937).

[15] This procedure, carried out on the Univac, was initially proposed by D. R. Saunders in "Practical Methods for the Direct Factor Analysis of Psychological Score Matrices," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1951. The Univac

Loadings on these components measure the extent to which various elections and counties, respectively, possess the quality that accounts for the maximum sum of squares in the matrix X. We shall refer to the county loadings as $u_1, u_2, \cdots, u_{102}$, and the election loadings as $v_1, v_2, \cdots$.

We shall proceed to interpret these principal components; but it should be understood that this method is by its nature exploratory. We look simply for that quality of elections and of counties defined by the principal components. We shall consider qualities called "New Dealism" and "Bryanism," and changes in the degree to which party votes possess them. What qualities are found depends on what elections (for president, governor, congress, etc.) and what period are chosen for study. Further analysis should center about testing the sorts of hypotheses that this approach generates: the study of other states comparable with Illinois, and the use of regression techniques rather than factor analysis, are among the approaches that would lend greater rigor to the conclusions. Nevertheless, the results obtained, simply with one principal component for each subperiod we have studied, seem to be in full agreement with the previous hypotheses of Key and others as to the identification and significance of critical elections.

Each entry in the data matrices is a per cent Democratic; minor-party votes cannot be used within the framework we set (*i.e.*, use of raw election data rather than standard scores, and subtraction of county means as well as election means). The elections considered over this period are those for President, Governor, U. S. Senator, district Congressman, and Trustees of the University of Illinois.[16] The national and statewide offices are chosen as involving candidates whose appeal was directed to a wide variety of audiences in Illinois and elsewhere. The vote for district Congressman is intended to reveal the sort of appeal made by a candidate who seeks votes only relatively locally. The vote for Trustees is used as an indicator of the "depersonalized" vote—at least unrelated to the personalities of the candidates for that office. It was used for this purpose by Woody, and for certain periods in our analysis is superior to the vote for State Treasurer which was sometimes dominated by candidate personalities.[17]

III. THE REORIENTATION OF THE 1920s

To examine the critical period about 1928, the first principal component is computed for Illinois elections over the period 1914–1958. This period is chosen because it was believed to contain only one major reorientation; it is extended backward to include possible reorientations related to World War I, and forward to 1958. The results of this computation consist of 85 loadings (v's) for the elections during this period, and 102 loadings (u's) on the same principal component for the counties of Illinois.

The loadings for elections in this period (v's) are shown in Figure 2, together with the time series of per cent Democratic for the average of all 102 counties. The scale of the loadings is adjusted so that these two time series are numerically comparable;[18] but in Figure 2 the scale of the election loadings is multiplied by a factor of five.

It is clear that the first principal component of the votes after removal of means has no close relationship to the success of one party or the other. The election means show a Democratic peak in 1932, receding afterward; the principal component shows a lasting reorientation of the electorate, taking place from about 1924 to 1936 and persisting thereafter. This is what we would expect if 1924–36 was a "critical period."

We can also see from Figure 2 that the votes for different offices behaved in different ways, especially during the critical period. The candidacy of Al Smith in 1928 went far toward reorienting the presidential vote, and some of the contests for governor and senator even ran ahead of the presidential vote. On the other hand, the vote for Trustees, and especially that for Congress, lagged behind the presidential

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program was initially written by M. Woodbury and W. Turanski at Remington Rand Univac, and rewritten by F. K. Bamberger at the Operations Analysis Laboratory, University of Chicago. Mathematical details are given in an appendix to this paper.

[16] Sources for these data were *Blue Book of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, biennial), and *Official Vote of the State of Illinois Cast at the General Election* (*date*), compiled by the Secretary of the State of Illinois (Springfield). In the elections of 1918 and 1920 the Democrats failed to nominate a Congressional candidate in one District; as a measure of the potential Democratic vote in those counties, data for Trustees and Congressman-at-large in the same year were substituted.

[17] Wooddy, C. H., *The Case of Frank L. Smith* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 371–372. Our figure is further adjusted to reduce the effects of local popularity of one Trustee candidate in a county. The vote for Treasurer departed from that for other offices in 1904 and 1916, when Len Small was the Republican candidate.

[18] This procedure is described in the appendix.

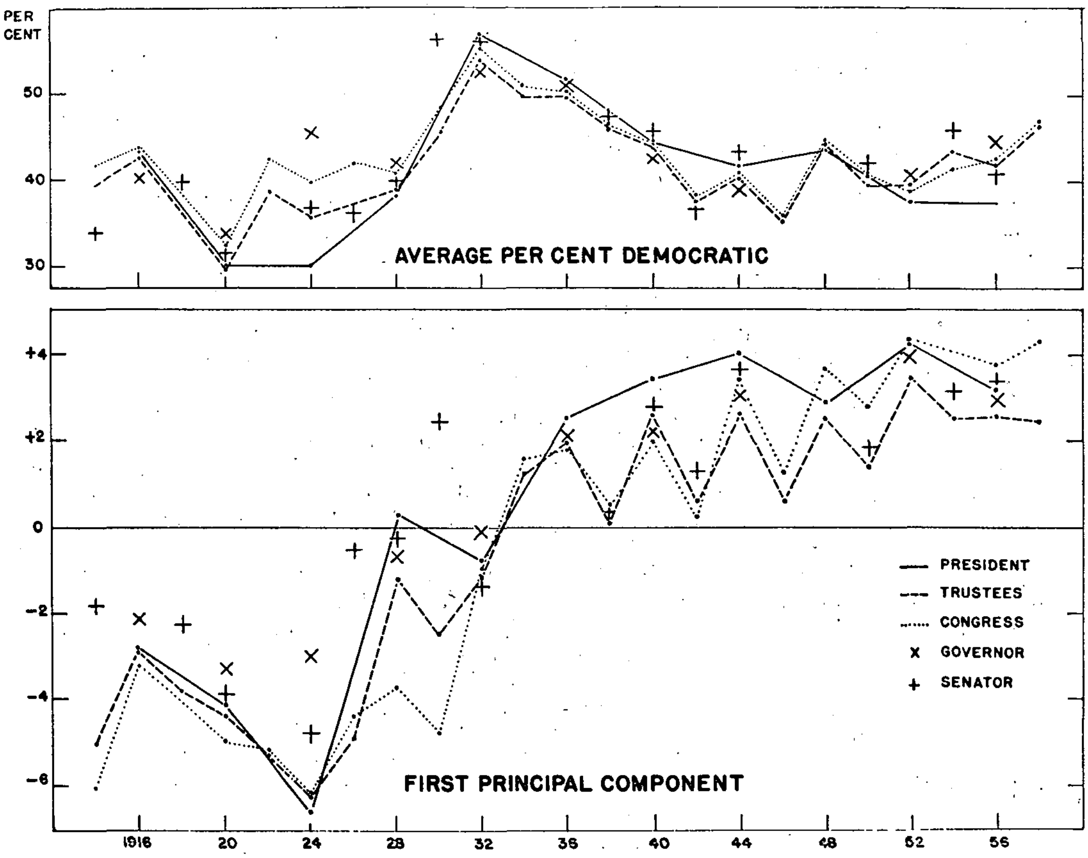

Fig. 2. Time Series of Average Per Cent Democratic, and of First Principal Component, for 1914–1958.

vote in the reorientation. The response of the Trustee vote from 1920 to 1930 in Figure 2 corresponds closely to the changes indicated in the last column of Table I, if we note that a positive change in association with per cent rural-farm corresponds to a negative change in the first principal component.

What was the quality of the votes that were interchanged between the two parties? If we compare 1926 with 1956, for example, it is clear that nearly the same proportion of the vote was Democratic in these two years, but that the sources of the Democratic and Republican votes had changed. It is generally believed that the Democratic vote became more urban, Catholic, and wet, while the Republican vote became more rural, Protestant, and dry. The general correctness of this notion can be tested by examination of the *county* loadings on the first principal component, which also emerge from the direct factor analysis. Measures of urbanization, religious composition, and votes on prohibition referenda obtained from censuses and election statistics, are related to the *u*-components as shown in Table II.[19] The resemblance to the expected characteristics is close enough to support the conclusion that we have measured the "critical" reorientation of the period; a quality that the Democratic vote gained during this reorientation was particularly present in counties of foreign-born, urban and Catholic population that voted relatively wet in 1930. We can then go a step further and specify more accurately just how this reorientation occurred.

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[19] Sources for county characteristics are: foreign-born, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920* (Washington, 1922), Vol. II, pp. 1335–1336; rural-farm, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (Washington, 1933), Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 614–620; Catholic, *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington, 1941), Vol. I, pp. 743–744; 1930 wet vote, *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1931–1932* (Springfield, 1931), pp. 852–853. Similar correlations are given by Blustein, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

TABLE II. LOADINGS ON FIRST PRINCIPAL COMPONENT (1914–1958) IN RELATION TO POPULATION AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS, BY COUNTIES

	Correlation with *u* for Counties
Population Characteristic	
Per cent foreign-born 1920	+.68
Per cent rural-farm 1930	−.71
Per cent Catholic 1936	+.16
Political Characteristic	
Per cent wet 1930	+.58
Per cent Progressive 1912	+.53
Per cent Progressive 1924	+.55

From Table II we can do more than simply state what population characteristics were involved in this reorientation; we can say which ones were most important. These were per cent foreign-born and (negatively) per cent rural-farm. Per cent Catholic ranked considerably below both. Thus it may be that religion has been overemphasized as a factor in the reorientation of this period; while it may have been important in the vote for Al Smith, the lasting effects of the change, as measured by the first principal component, seem more closely related to urban-foreign background than to religion as such.[20]

For convenience we shall refer to this component as the "New Deal" component. Counties whose vote resembled the lower graph in Figure 2 will be called "pro-New-Deal," and counties whose vote tended in the opposite direction, "anti-New-Deal."

The political characteristics shown in Table II cast further light on the origins of the reorientation. The wet vote was clearly associated with "New Dealism"; but so too were the votes for the two Progressive candidates for president, Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and La Follette in 1924. On the basis of this and other evidence, it appears that these third-party tickets constituted a "halfway house" for members of the Republican party who were later to become Democrats.

The relation between the 1912 Bull Moose Progressive vote and the reorientation of 1924–30 can also be traced more directly, as well as through the principal components. For each county we can relate the change in per cent Democratic (for Trustees) to the 1912 Progressive vote; the respective correlations are +.40 for the change from 1926 to 1928, and +.43 for the 1928–30 change. Thus there was at least some quality in common between those counties that swung relatively most "pro-New-Deal" and those that had voted Bull Moose. At the time of Theodore Roosevelt's defection from the Republican party in 1912, the vote for him appeared to be simply a temporary departure from the fold, followed by a return to Republicanism. Yet there may have been a weakening of Republican party loyalty in some counties that permitted later defection, even after a return to the party in 1916 and 1920. It is also possible that those counties in which the defection to the 1912 Progressives occurred were more urban than the rest, and happened to be the seat of later shifts to the Democrats occurring for different reasons.[21]

To account for the relation between the La Follette Progressive vote and the reorientation of the electorate between the major parties, we shall return to the analysis of Figure 2. It should be noted, however, that the correlation between the Roosevelt and La Follette Progressive votes was very low (+.26).

The *v*-components in the lower graph of Figure 2 show not only a general and lasting reorientation of the two-party vote in the period 1924–1936, but also a number of finer details of the process. From 1914 to 1932, in a series of senatorial and gubernatorial contests

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[20] W. F. Ogburn and N. S. Talbot found that in 1928 the prohibition issue was most closely correlated with the vote and Catholicism next, for 173 counties of the North and West: "A Measurement of Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," *Social Forces*, Vol. 8 (1929), pp. 175–183. Religion may have been of relatively temporary significance, however, in relation to other variables shown in Table I. Blustein (*op. cit.*, pp. 43, 50–51) shows that the Smith vote had a relatively low correlation with both earlier *and* later elections, supporting the notion that it involved temporary rather than lasting reorientations of the vote. It should also be noted that our correlations, weighting each county equally, treat the Catholic population as consisting disproportionately of German Catholics in rural counties.

[21] The increase in the Republican percentage from 1912 to 1916 (*R*) correlated +.93 with the 1912 Progressive vote (*P*), and the regression slope of *R* on *P* was +.86; from this we infer that the 1912 Progressives largely returned to the Republican party in 1916. The appeal of Theodore Roosevelt to the urban Catholic vote in 1904 was referred to by Kohlsaat; see below, n. 38. See also George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, 1946), p. 280.

TABLE III. CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND SENATE, 1914–1932*

Year	Governor		Senator	
	Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
1914	Sullivan (C, †)	Sherman (d) Robins (Prog., C)		
1916	Dunne (C, †)	Lowden (d)		
1918			Lewis (C)	M. McCormick (C)
1920	Lewis (C)	Small (d)	Waller (d)	McKinley (d)
1922	—	—	—	—
1924	Jones (d)	Small (d)	Sprague (C)	Deneen (C)
1926			Brennan (C, †)	Smith (d) Magill (d)
1928	Thompson (d)	Emmerson (d)	Cermak (C)	Glenn (d)
1930			Lewis (C)	R. McCormick (d)
1932	Horner (C)	Small (d)	Dieterich (d)	Glenn (d)

KEY: C = Cook County (residence at time of election); d = downstate (residence at time of election); † = Catholic.

* Sources of biographical information include the *Illinois Blue Book; Illinois Democracy,* Vols. II, III (*op. cit.*); *Who's Who in America,* Vol. 26; *Who Was Who in America,* Vols. I, II; and *The Case of Frank L. Smith* (*op. cit.*).

the Democratic vote for these offices was more pro-New-Deal, and the Republican vote less so, than for their running mates for presidency, congress and Trustees. The first such election shown in Figure 2 is that for U. S. Senator in 1914 (the first popular election for this office in Illinois), which pitted Roger C. Sullivan, a leading Cook County Democrat, against Lawrence Y. Sherman, the incumbent Republican, and Raymond Robins, a Progressive. Robins received 20 per cent of the vote, and Sullivan, receiving 37 per cent, trailed his Congressional ticket by about 7 per cent. The result was to throw Sullivan back on an urban base of support and make his vote more like that later received by Al Smith.[22] But since he did not encroach on the Republican urban vote, his vote in 1914 cannot be considered as a major precursor of the 1924–36 reorientation.

Succeeding elections for governor and senator also showed a tendency for the Democratic candidate for these offices to run ahead of his ticket, especially in 1924, 1926, and 1930. A list of the candidates in these races is given in Table III. For the most part, Democratic candidates represented the Cook County faction of their party, while Republican candidates represented their downstate faction. The division between Cook County and downstate factions seems to have been more significant in Illinois politics during this period than were urban-rural cleavages in the nation or in individual congressional districts. This aspect of the Illinois parties may have contributed to the systematic deviance of these points in Figure 2: the offices of governor and senator were the only ones studied for which prominent candidates were nominated at the state level.

Especially high deviations are associated with the Jones-Small race for governor in 1924, Brennan-Smith for senator in 1926, and Lewis *vs.* Ruth McCormick in 1930. Jones, though a downstate candidate, profited from scandals surrounding Small's previous administration as State Treasurer to lead his ticket, and as we shall see below, some of the La Follette vote seems to have been thrown to Jones. "Boss" Brennan was an Irish Catholic from Chicago, and Frank L. Smith, his opponent, ran on a strongly isolationist platform, opposing the World Court. James Hamilton Lewis, though originally from Virginia, had no downstate residence prior to settling in Chicago, and drew a strongly "New Deal" vote in 1918 and 1920 as well as 1930.[23]

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[22] Sullivan, a Catholic, was several times head of the Democratic delegation to the National convention, but was not universally popular with downstate Democrats. In 1914 he failed to carry White County, home of State Chairman A. W. Charles and a normally Democratic county. See W. A. Townsend and C. Boeschenstein, *Illinois Democracy* (Springfield, 1935), vol. I, p. 319 and *passim*. Sullivan's part in the campaign of 1908 will also be discussed below.

The only other instances in this period when the Democrats ran clearly downstate candidates for senator (Waller in 1920 and Dieterich in 1932) led to races culminating in votes closely paralleling those for President. The points for Thompson and Cermak in 1928 are both below that for Al Amith.

The candidacy of La Follette for president on the Progressive ticket in 1924 marked the start of a period of pronounced ticket-splitting that ended only in 1932. In 1924, John W. Davis as Democratic candidate for president received the same low proportion of the vote as had Cox in 1920, while Jones, running against Len Small for governor, ran nearly 25 per cent ahead of Davis. Other Democratic candidates ran in between, including Colonel Sprague, running against former Governor Charles S. Deneen. Even though Jones was a downstate candidate, he seems to have won new urban support through scandals surrounding Len Small's administration.[24]

Analysis of the 1924 La Follette vote suggests that it came in part from elements of the population that might have voted for Al Smith had he been nominated by the Democrats in the 1924 convention. Contrary to the image some entertain of La Follette—that of an agrarian reformer—he obtained stronger support in Illinois from urban counties with heavy foreign-born population than from rural counties of native-born population. The La Follette vote was correlated +.68, for example, with pro-wet sentiment on a 1922 referendum, and +.54 with per cent Catholic.[25]

The relatively urban aspect of the Jones gubernatorial vote may be connected with the similar character of the La Follette vote by examination of the extent to which Jones led Davis in various counties. This difference was correlated +.82 with the La Follette vote; but in spite of this close relationship, less than half of the La Follette vote seems to have gone to Jones through ticket-splitting.[26]

The La Follette Progressive vote therefore seems much more like that for a distinct third party than does the Bull Moose vote. Elements of both the Republican and the Democratic votes of 1920 seem to have been attracted to La Follette: Democratic losses from 1920 to 1924 were correlated +.38, and Republican losses +.63, with the 1924 La Follette vote.[27] Probably the most compelling evidence that the La Follette vote was a "halfway house" between Republican and Democratic affiliation results from a comparison of the change in per cent Democratic from 1924 to 1928, and the La Follette vote; they correlate +.88. This association, taken together with the predominantly Republican sources of the La Follette vote (the figure of +.63 above), shows the crucial part played by this third-party ticket. Moreover, the Democratic change from 1920 to 1928 correlates +.77 with the La Follette vote.[28]

Figure 2 also shows that in 1926 and 1928, the congressional vote lagged behind the presidential and senatorial, as did the Trustee vote to a lesser extent. This lag suggests that the capacity of a congressman to adapt the meaning of his partisan affiliation to the political situation may stabilize the party vote for Congress, as it seems to for local offices as well.[29] On the other hand, the Trustee vote may reflect a partial association of straight-ticket voting with local traditional party identification, even though the straight ticket is also affected by the personality at the head of the ticket.[30]

The election of 1932 shows a solidification of the party vote and a decrease of ticket-splitting. But contrary to the later image of Franklin Roosevelt, it shows him uniting a Democratic coalition that is in some respects a retrogression toward the old. An important point in this interpretation is whether the election of 1932 marked a reverse reorientation of the vote. From Figure 2 it appears that the Roosevelt candidacy drew the Democratic party together at all levels (president, senate, governor, and congress); and that in attracting Republican support it did so uniformly from all sorts of previously Republican counties, taking these counties more nearly as they were in the early 1920s. In other words, even though the Roosevelt of 1932 may have held Smith's gains of 1928, he not only enlarged them but also recaptured some of the rural-Protestant-dry counties that had gone more Republican, or less Democratic, in 1928. It was not until 1936 that the Roosevelt coalition assumed the form that it has had since.[31]

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[23] Biographical information on the Republicans involved appears in Wooddy, *The Case of Frank L. Smith, op. cit., passim*, and on the Democrats, in Townsend and Boeschenstein, *Illinois Democracy, op. cit.*

[24] See Wooddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–162.

[25] Pro-wet sentiment was inferred from referendum figures in the *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1923–24* (Springfield, 1923), pp. 772–773. Per cent Catholic was calculated from the *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936* (*loc. cit.*).

[26] The regression slope of Jones minus Davis vote on La Follette vote is only +.42.

[27] For this calculation, the La Follette vote was corrected by subtracting the Farmer-Labor and Socialist votes in 1920 for each county, these having probably gone largely to La Follette.

[28] The fact that the Democrats were gaining strength during this period means that we need to look mainly for transitions toward a Democratic vote, rather than away from it.

[29] See V. O. Key, Jr., "Partisanship and County Office: The Case of Ohio," this REVIEW, Vol. 47 (1953), p. 526; Malcolm Moos, *Presidents, Politics, and Coattails* (Baltimore, 1952), pp. 13n., 110.

[30] See A. Campbell and W. E. Miller, "The Motivational Basis of Straight and Split Ticket Voting," this REVIEW, Vol. 51 (1957), pp. 293–312.

For further evidence on this point we may look to either the issues raised in the 1932 Roosevelt campaign or the voting statistics. In spite of Roosevelt's emphasis on repeal of prohibition in 1932 he had more of the rural, isolationist appeal than did the later Roosevelt; his 1932 campaign depended heavily on opposition to the Republicans and Hoover, rather than on the issues that were to arise with the New Deal.

Key's analyses of the New Hampshire vote also show the retrogression that occurred in 1932.[32] Those counties that went most Democratic between 1928 and 1932 actually lagged behind other towns of the state in their subsequent Democratic vote. Thus in New Hampshire as well as in Illinois, the 1932 presidential election constituted a point of retrenchment and consolidation between stages of a major reorientation of the electorate.

After 1932, the presidential vote continues to reflect much the same cleavage of the electorate through 1956, even while the proportions obtained by Democrats and Republicans fluctuate. Nor is there evidence of large-scale ticket-splitting in a way that would affect the basic cleavage. From 1936 until 1952, however, there develops a sawtooth variation of the factor loadings, such that elections in presidential years tend to reflect the "New Deal" cleavage more than do the off years. This suggests that the new cleavage resides more in national affairs (issues and candidates) than in state politics and that the overall reorientation was more pronounced for the presidency than for state-wide candidacies. Since 1952 very few basic differences in voter alignments have appeared; even Douglas's 1954 Senate campaign, in which he led the ticket by some five per cent, did not reveal new or unusual bases of support. The present period, therefore, seems to resemble the "politics of dead center" characteristic of the 1880s, as the reorientations of 1924–1936 have become solidified in the structure of parties and electorate.

IV. THE REORIENTATION OF THE 1890s

The same approach used to study the 1920s and their aftermath may also be applied to the 1890s. Starting with the presidential election of 1888,[33] we may compute the first principal component for elections through 1922; the period 1914–1922 thus serves to bridge the two analyses. For the period 1888–1922, we obtain 57 v-loadings (for elections) and 102 u-loadings (for counties). The values of v are presented in Figure 3, together with the corresponding values of average per cent Democratic.

Again we observe that the expected transition occurs at the year in which Key located a critical election—1896; but the mechanism of this reorientation is different from that of the 1920s. No significant role is played by presidential third parties in the change; only about 3 per cent of Illinois voters supported Weaver on the People's ticket in 1892, perhaps because Altgeld's reform candidacy for governor kept protest votes within the Democratic party. Populist candidates were somewhat stronger in the congressional elections of 1894, but Figure 3 does not suggest a significant amount of ticket-splitting as in 1924.

With respect to the votes for President, Congress, and Trustees, the 1896 reorientation is much simpler than that of 1928. The major transition occurs between 1892 and 1896, and it occurs in much the same way for all the offices studied. Although the elections of 1894 anticipate this change, the magnitude of this anticipatory change is no greater than that of the changes from 1888 to 1892. Nor are there pronounced leads and lags of the votes for these three offices relative to one another; starting in 1904, the congressional vote becomes more negative than other votes in its factor loadings, but not as much so as in Figure 2. One might almost say that there was a single critical election, rather than a critical period.

It is in the votes for governor and senator,

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[31] See Lubell, *op. cit.*, p. 141. The point is also supported by Blustein, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–54.

[32] "A Theory of Critical Elections," pp. 8, 10.

[33] The first election at which a vote occurred for Trustees of the University of Illinois, this election was also selected in order to allow a sufficient interval before 1896.

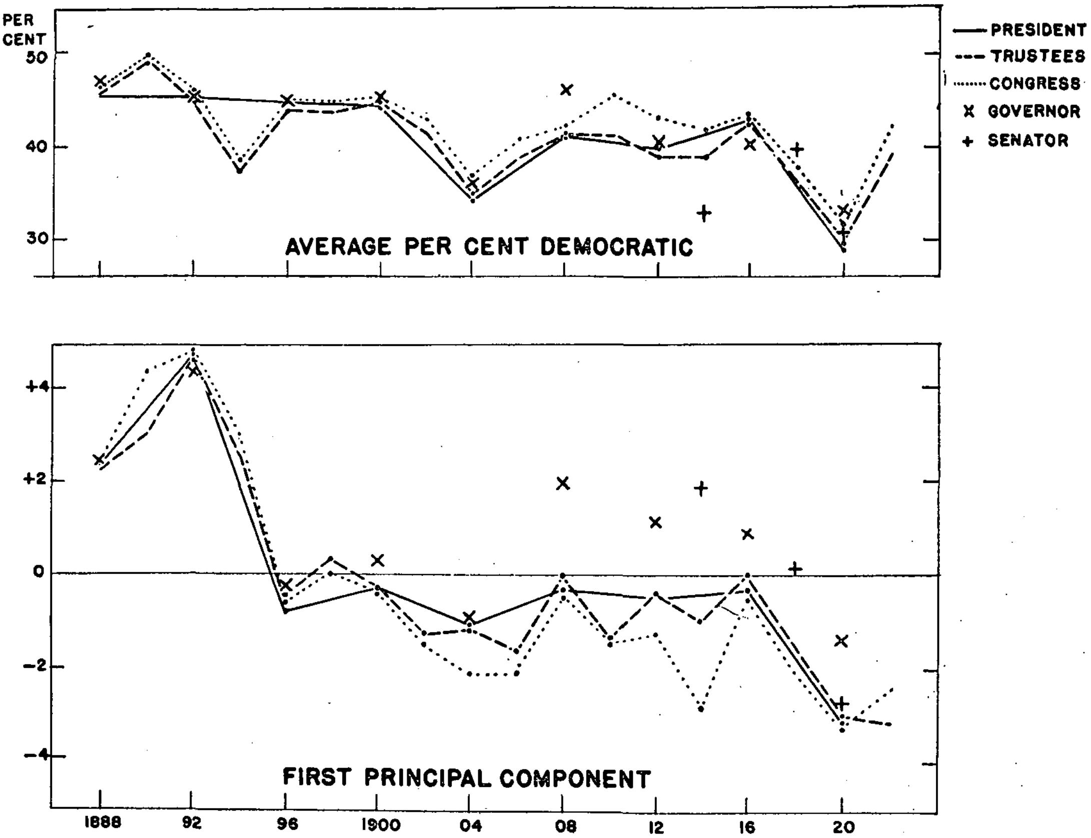

FIG. 3. Time Series of Average Per Cent Democratic, and of First Principal Component, for 1888–1922.

starting in 1908, that the graph departs from the simple pattern that would correspond to a single critical election. The candidacy of Adlai Stevenson (the elder) for governor in 1908 marks both an anticipation of "New Dealism" (matching the series of statewide contests from 1914 on) and a recollection of "Clevelandism" (Stevenson was Vice President under Cleveland). But this series of deviant votes for statewide offices starts twelve years after the initial critical election of 1896, rather than marking a stage in the transition.

We shall call the principal component for 1888–1922 "anti-Bryanism." This means that positive loadings on the lower graph in Figure 3 reflect an orientation of the Democratic vote toward Cleveland, rather than Bryan, while negative loadings reflect relatively greater support for Bryan and for Wilson. We choose to call the more urban aspect of this component "positive" for ease of comparison with "New Dealism" and with Figure 2.

Having delineated the broad outlines of the critical election of 1896, we may proceed to examine whether the character of the reoriented vote was the same as in the change of the 1920s. It was not; the *u*'s for the two periods, even though there is an overlap, correlate +.56. As a first approximation we can consider both to involve an urban-rural factor,[34] but differences are also identifiable. "Bryanism" was strongest (the component most negative) in a group of counties in southeastern Illinois, and weakest (most positive) in the northern counties, rural as well as urban. The three southernmost counties of "Egypt," Alexander, Massac, and Pulaski, were pro-Bryan *and* pro-New-Deal;

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[34] The first principal component for 1914–58 correlates −.71 with per cent rural-farm in 1930 (Table II); while that for 1888–1922 correlates −.51 with a measure of ruralism by counties based on the 1890 census ("farms" divided by "farms" plus "homes"). Data for the latter measure were taken from *Report on Farms and Homes: Proprietorship and Indebtedness in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1896), pp. 254–255, 333–334.

some of the most strongly German counties, on the other hand, such as Clinton, were anti-Bryan and anti-New-Deal. Thus "Bryanism" may be distinguished from "anti-New-Dealism" in meaningful terms. Figure 4 shows the distribution of loadings on "Bryanism" among the counties of Illinois.

Another approach to the analysis of "Bryanism" is through the sources of migration to Illinois. Figure 4, showing the county loadings on the 1888–1922 principal component, resembles in some respects a similar map presented by Key[35] showing the Southern sources of Illinois Democratic strength arising from migration from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. The correlation between "Bryanism" and the proportion of the 1880 population born in these states is +.58.[36] It may thus be related to cultural differences between these populations and the New Englanders who settled northern Illinois.

Having considered the general nature of the reorientation of 1896, we may return to the details of individual elections as shown in Figure 3.

The presidential contests of 1888 and 1892 were between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison; in terms of the 1888–1922 series, the Cleveland vote represented a more urban base than Bryan's. This effect was intensified in 1892, when Altgeld first ran for Governor of Illinois. Advocating a program of reform and vigorously urging the support of labor, Altgeld obtained a strong urban vote. In 1896, Altgeld was a candidate for re-election to the governorship, but now Bryan dominated the campaign. Altgeld's position had been weakened by his pardon of the Haymarket rioters, as well as by the depression of 1893. In the 1896 campaign Altgeld supported Bryan's "free silver" plank and his own issues of labor reform declined in importance.[37]

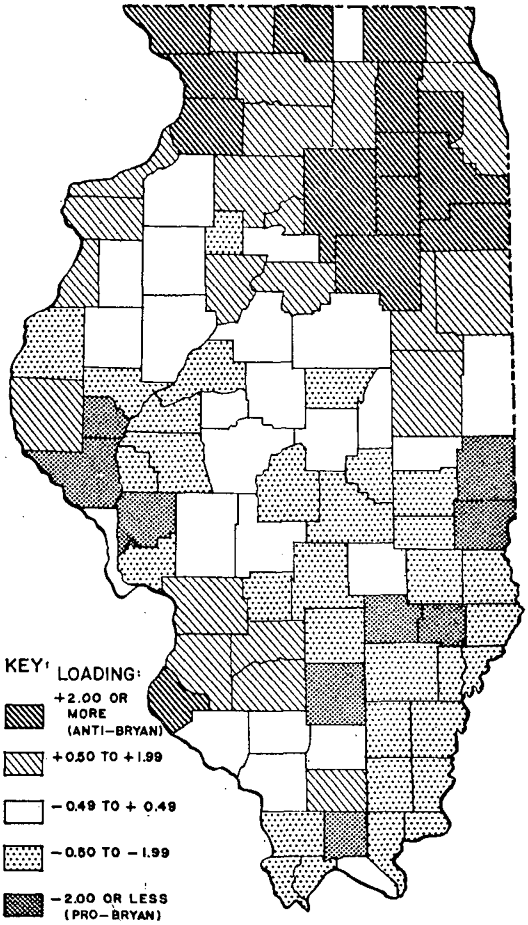

FIG. 4. "Bryanism" Component, by Counties

The reorientation of 1896 persisted, with minor exceptions, until 1922 and was heightened by the reaction against Wilson after World War I. After the 1896 transition, the congressional Democratic vote became more pro-Bryan than that for other offices, while the governorship and Senate contests showed the urban-Democratic association that presaged the rise of Al Smith. Theodore Roosevelt's victory of 1904 made the Democratic vote even more "pro-Bryan," in spite of Bryan's being replaced by Alton B. Parker. This may be attributed to Roosevelt's strong appeal to the Catholics and the urban vote, leaving Parker to the rural counties.[38]

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[35] V. O. Key, Jr., *American State Politics*, (New York, 1956), p. 224.

[36] This correlation does not mean, however, that "Bryanism" simply reflects traditional Democratic strength; when the average per cent Democratic (1888–1922) is controlled, the partial correlation between Bryanism and proportion of Southern migrants is still +.50. Bryanism is definitely correlated with Democratic strength ($r = +.59$), but Democratic strength in this period is less closely linked to Southern migration ($r = +.35$). Data on state of birth were calculated from *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, 1883), pp. 56–57, 504–505.

[37] The relation between Altgeld and the reform movements of the 1890s is discussed in Chester McA. Destler, *American Radicalism: 1865–1901. Essays and Documents* (New London, 1946), pp. 167–168, 189–190.

[38] H. H. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding*

The first election after 1896 at which a Democratic candidate attracted a more anti-Bryan vote was 1908, when Adlai Stevenson (the elder) ran for governor. Stevenson had served as Vice President under Cleveland, and may have appeared to the voters as a Cleveland supporter; in addition, he ran ahead of his ticket in 1908. The Stevenson vote was given an anti-Bryan flavor by the fact that his campaign manager was Roger C. Sullivan, whom Bryan had fought to keep off the state committee.[39] And Stevenson's opponent, Deneen, was said to have been "knifed" by Lorimer and some of the urban Republicans.[40] Following Stevenson, Dunne in 1912 and 1916, Sullivan in 1914 and Lewis in 1918 and 1920 continued to attract a more urban vote to the Democratic gubernatorial and senatorial tickets than the presidential and congressional tickets drew. The period from 1914 on was discussed above; the configuration of *v*-loadings for this period is very similar for "anti-Bryanism" and for "New Dealism."

V. DISCUSSION

We have shown that in Illinois major and lasting reorientations of the electorate centered about the Presidential elections of 1928 and 1896. By principal component analysis, we have been able to verify the existence of these reorientations and examine what population groups were involved in them, without selecting in advance certain counties or certain particular elections on which to make the test. Thus the method lends itself to a more general search for critical elections over a wider period of time.

At the same time this method enables us to examine the contribution of various elections in a "critical period" to an electoral reorientation, and to see which elections led, lagged, or were simply exceptions to the more general trend. This detailed examination of particular elections and candidacies, made possible by the use of an electronic computer, brings into the analysis a greater degree of historical detail than would enter if we were concerned with the presidential vote alone. It also suggests hypotheses about the nominating process in the states, and state party structure, as contrasted with national nominations and parties. The part played by third parties in critical elections is also emphasized.

This analysis should not only throw light on Illinois politics, but also suggest possible extensions and modifications of the method used. Some ways in which the method might be made more useful are these:

(a) Studies of other states, and of parts of urban counties in Illinois, can help to confirm or correct some of the hypotheses formulated about Illinois counties.

(b) Extension of the analysis to further principal components beyond the first, together with careful study of how these can be interpreted, may reveal other significant reorientations of the vote.[41]

(c) Transformation of the variable "per cent Democratic" might be carried out to correct for the decreased variability of the per cent Democratic that necessarily results when it approaches zero or 100 per cent.[42]

(d) Regression analysis can be used to test directly hypotheses about population groups and the vote, which can be only explored and formulated with principal component analysis.

Beyond these questions of method, certain additional substantive hypotheses are suggested by our data. The "coat-tail effect," for example, may be examined in two aspects rather than one by inspection of Figures 2 and 3. Usually the presidency occupies an extreme position in Figure 2, but in the contests of 1948, 1952, and 1956, it did not. This means that these elections did not inject an extra amount of the "New Deal" factor into the campaign. In Figure 3, the presidency occupies an intermediate position rather than an extreme one from 1908 through 1916; further analysis is required to explain this difference.

Both graphs in Figure 3 also show a high degree of unanimity within the parties and a relative absence of ticket-splitting prior to 1908. Even with two candidates as different as Altgeld and Bryan on the ticket, the electorate

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(New York, 1923) pp. 136–137, wrote that in 1904 "the Catholics are 85 per cent Democratic, and when they change to the Republican ticket their influence is greatly felt. Roosevelt had over 2,500,000 plurality. It was the religious issue which largely contributed to his great victory." The Bull Moose ticket in 1912 was also strong in urban areas.

[39] Townsend and Boeschenstein, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 269. Sullivan also ran for U. S. Senate in 1914. Although Stevenson had been Bryan's running mate in 1900, he did not even mention this fact in his memoirs: Adlai E. Stevenson, *Something of Men I Have Known* (Chicago, 1909).

[40] W. T. Hutchinson, *Lowden of Illinois* (Chicago, 1957), vol. I, p. 258.

[41] Among these is the response of the German vote to World Wars I and II.

[42] This procedure has been used by M. Woodbury and W. Turanski in preliminary analyses of the Pennsylvania vote.

TABLE IV. COMPOSITION OF THE VARIANCE OF PER CENT DEMOCRATIC IN TWO HISTORICAL PERIODS

Source of variation	1888–1922		1914–1958	
	Sum of Squares	Per cent	Sum of squares	Per cent
Total about grand mean	78,600	100	113,740	100
Counties	56,366	72	60,325	53
Elections	13,170	17	31,111	27
First principal component	2,585	3	8,822	8
Second principal component	1,493	2	2,730	2
Residual	4,986	6	10,752	10

seemed to support or oppose them together. Can it be that the introduction of the direct primary in 1908 had as an unintended effect the generation of new intraparty hostilities in the electorate? Prior to this time, intraparty differences may have been more often composed before matters emerged from the inner party councils.

We have already referred to the Cook-County-downstate cleavage as a possible basis of the "pro-New-Deal" Democratic vote for governor and senator in the period studied. This hypothesis can be extended to other states as a means of relating intraparty structure to the nomination process.

A further substantive effect observed in connection with Figure 2 was the sawtooth character of the *v*-loadings from 1936 to 1952. Apparently the presidential elections brought out issues that more clearly polarized the electorate about "New Dealism" than did the off years. This superposition of a national frame of reference on the presidential elections has also been shown in another parallel study of Illinois voting.[43]

A further hypothesis that can be tested by data such as these concerns long-run changes in statewide as against local points of view as a result of mass media of communication. A suggestion of how this problem may be approached is given by breaking down the components of the sum of squares in the matrix of per cent Democratic about its overall mean, as in Table IV. From the earlier period studied to the later, there is a relative increase in the variance accounted for by elections, in comparison with that accounted for by counties. This may be a phenomenon on the state level analogous to the development of two-party systems in New England and the South on the national level.

Finally, the most direct extension of our substantive findings would be toward a more general theory of critical elections themselves. Cumulation of data of this kind, both for other historical periods and for other states, would clarify the part played by third parties in channeling new electoral demands into the major parties; the significance of off-year elections for party reorientation; the degree of autonomy of state parties in relation to national politics; and the part played by internal party structure in facilitating or restraining the entry of new issues into public debate.

Appendix: Direct Factor Analysis

Saunders[44] has shown that a data matrix X may be factor analyzed to yield a set of conjugate pairs of factors for XX' and $X'X$ (where $X'=X$ transposed). If we wish to find the principal components of a correlation matrix, one way of doing this is by Hotelling's iterative method.[45] The correlation matrix may be regarded as $1/N$ times the product of a matrix of row-standard scores, Z, and its transpose, Z'. Or if we let $X=Z/\sqrt{N}$, then $R=XX'$. Now if we extend Hotelling's iterative procedure so as to define a row vector v and a column vector u, and alternately postmultiply X by v and premultiply it by u, we generate a procedure similar to the analysis of the correlation matrix.

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[43] Analysis of the vote for the Illinois House of Representatives (1902–1954) has shown that the variance of per cent Democratic among districts decreases in presidential years, to increase again in the off years. See J. Sawyer and D. MacRae, Jr., "Game Theory and Cumulative Voting in Illinois," *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section, 1959* (in press).

[44] D. R. Saunders, "Practical Methods in the Direct Factor Analysis of Psychological Score Matrices," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1950.

[45] H. Hotelling, "Analysis of a Complex of Statistical Variables into Principal Components," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 23 (1933), pp. 417–441, 498–520.

Let u_i, v_i = the vectors u and v at the ith iteration; then we alternately perform the operations

$$Xv_i'=u_i, \tag{1}$$

$$u_i'X=v_{i+1}. \tag{2}$$

Substituting (2) in (1), after transposing ($v_{i+1}'=X'u_i$) and raising i by unity in (1),

$$XX'u_i=u_{i+1}. \tag{3}$$

This iterative procedure is equivalent to Hotelling's. It converges when u_{i+1} equals u_i multiplied by a constant λ, to a desired degree of tolerance. Similarly, it can be shown that

$$v_iX'X=v_{i+1}, \tag{4}$$

and that this converges as (3) converges. At convergence, the elements of u and v are determined except for a multiplicative constant; u and v are conjugate principal components (eigenvectors) of XX' and $X'X$ respectively, and λ is the eigenvalue associated with both. The eigenvalue is

$$\lambda=N^2uN^2v,$$

where

$$N^2u=\sum_{i=1}^{r} u_i^2,$$

$$N^2v=\sum_{j=1}^{c} v_j^2,$$

i and j refer to the summation over the r rows or c columns of the vector, and "N^2" is an abbreviation for "norm-squared." After one such factoring, residuals are computed and the process may be repeated.[46]

In ordinary (R-type) factor analysis, no attention is paid to v, because Z is standardized by rows. In the present case, however, both sets of factors (components) are meaningful. To make the scales of u and v comparable with that of X, we set $N^2u=N^2v=\lambda$ for each eigenvalue.[47]

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[46] The eigenvectors of the residual matrix are also eigenvectors of the initial matrix. See E. Bodewig, *Matrix Calculus* (Amsterdam, 1959), ch. 8.

[47] The eigenvalue measures the variance accounted for by the principal component; see Kendall, *A Course in Multivariate Analysis*, p. 15

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRECY: A CONGRESSIONAL DILEMMA

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Attacks upon administrative secrecy are a commonplace of congressional politics. By resolution, investigation, and the threat of even more punitive sanctions, Congress has repeatedly asserted its belief that executive officials should not be allowed to withhold documents and testimony at their own discretion.[1] The most graphic recent evidence of this legislative concern has been provided by a House Special Subcommittee on Government Information.[2] Over the past three years, this group, headed by Representative Moss of California, has made far-ranging efforts to expose and dramatize the evils of executive secrecy.[3]

The long-standing congressional resentment against administrative efforts to conceal information has very visible roots in considerations of institutional self-interest, since the performance of legislative functions in central areas of policy-making and administrative oversight demands frequent access to facts that only executive officials can supply. In the field of defense policy, especially, congressional dependence upon executive information is acute, and bitter controversy has been sparked by executive refusals to release data bearing on such matters as the missile program, foreign-aid expenditures, and differences within the high command over the best way to spend the defense dollar.[4]

Among recent instances where Congress has found executive secrecy a handicap in its efforts to oversee administration, none has gained more publicity than the Dixon-Yates affair. In 1955 congressional critics of the administration's proposals to finance private construction of a utility plant in the Tennessee Valley for the benefit of the AEC were exercised to discover that a Bureau of the Budget consultant, Adolphe H. Wenzell, had simultaneously been an officer of the First Boston Corporation. This was the investment house that had represented Dixon-Yates in negotiations with the AEC and the Budget Bureau.

Although the administration at first insisted that Wenzell had not actually participated in contract discussions, subsequent inquiry disclosed that he had indeed played the role of intermediary in the affair.[5] The difficulty Congress encountered in obtaining full and accurate information on this and other matters connected with the Dixon-Yates investigation prompted Senator O'Mahoney to the conclusion that "there has been an utmost effort on the part of witnesses from the government to conceal the facts." Among the government officials who at one point or another refused to give testimony on their part in the contract negotiations were the Budget Director, Rowland Hughes; the chairman of the Atomic Energy

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[1] For a description of some of the principal episodes in this conflict see Wilfred Binkley, *The President and Congress* (New York, 1947). A recent tabulation of controversies in this area from the time of Washington to the present day may be found in *The Power of the President to Withhold Information from the Congress*, Memorandums of the Attorney General, Compiled by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., Feb. 6 and Oct. 31, 1958.

[2] The House Subcommittee has held hearings periodically since November 7, 1955, and has issued interim reports since that time. The work of the Committee up to July, 1958, is summarized in two progress reports, *Twenty-Fifth Intermediate Report of the Committee on Government Operations*, 84th Cong., 2d. sess., H. Rept. No. 2947, July 27, 1956; and *Thirty-Fifth Report by the Committee on Government Operations*, 85th Cong., 2d. sess., H. Rept. No. 2578, Aug. 13, 1958.

[3] Under the chairmanship of Senator Thomas Hennings of Missouri, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has also carried on investigations in this area.

[4] Many of the principal issues that have arisen over defense policy are discussed in an interim report by the Moss subcommittee. *Twenty-Seventh Report by the Committee on Government Operations*, 85th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Rept. No. 1884, June 16, 1958.

[5] As the AEC itself was subsequently to admit when it held the contract invalid on the grounds of Wenzell's conflicting private interest. As the agency put it: "The matters on which Wenzell was advising the contractor (Dixon) were the same on which he had been employed to advise the government." However, in a decision reimbursing Dixon-Yates for out-of-pocket costs before the contract was cancelled, the Court of Claims ruled that Wenzell's actions did not represent a genuine conflict of interest. *Mississippi Valley Generating Co.* v. *U. S.*, 175 F. Supp. 505 (1959).

Commission, Lewis L. Strauss; the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, J. Sinclair Armstrong; and Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams.[6]

Testimony to the continued strength of the congressional determination to preserve access to data in the hands of executive officials may also be found in the refusal of the Senate in 1959 to confirm the nomination of Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce—an event which marked only the eighth time that a Cabinet nominee has been denied confirmation. One of the principal charges levelled against Strauss was of excessive use of the doctrine of executive privilege to withhold information from the legislature—a refusal that Senators believed was based principally on the damage that disclosure might do to Strauss' own reputation. Senator Anderson, a leader of the opposition to him, called the rejection of Strauss "a signal victory for those who still believe this is a government for the people and that the public should be protected against a man who might use executive privilege to hide the truth."[7]

One issue that has generated persistent heat over a period spanning the terms of the last three Presidents has been the question of congressional inspection of loyalty-security files. Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower have each in turn had occasion to exercise their presidential prerogative to refuse Congress permission to inspect documents of this sort.[8] This refusal has been based partly on a desire to protect the individuals whose records were requested from the damage they might incur through the exposure of some of the material contained in their files—scurrilous accusations, for example. It has also been justified on the ground that secrecy is necessary for the efficient administration of the loyalty-security program, since it protects the identity of confidential informants to the government from a disclosure that might jeopardize their usefulness.

Pressure to obtain material contained in these files has come mainly from the conservative sectors of the legislature—in both the Democratic and the Republican parties. But the general notion of open government is at least as much a liberal as it is a conservative doctrine. The assaults upon secrecy in both the Dixon-Yates and Strauss affairs were mounted mainly by legislators of liberal persuasion, and two of the chief protagonists today of the "people's right to know," Congressman Moss of California and Senator Hennings of Missouri, would generally be classified as liberal in political outlook. Moreover, the fight against secrecy has been carried on with equal vigor whether Congress was under Democratic or Republican control. It is thus an issue upon which all ideological and partisan factions in the legislature can make common cause.

I

In its criticism of executive secrecy, the legislature has always drawn strong support from a powerful constellation of interests in American society—the organized press, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. For reasons of economic self-interest as well as ideological dedication, the newspaper industry's condemnation of governmental secrecy has been even more sweeping and persistent than that of the legislature. (It includes the legislature among its targets.) The passage of resolutions attacking governmental secrecy has now become a standard item on the agenda whenever newspapermen meet in state or national conventions.

The strong interest of the press helps insure widespread newspaper coverage of legislative attacks upon executive secrecy. Representative Hofmann of Michigan, a minority member of the House Subcommittee on Government Information has in fact taken public notice of the benefits accruing to the chairman from the nationwide publicity given the committee's critical inquiry into administrative secrecy.

> Whatever the chairman's intent may have been, the effect of this subcommittee's conspiracy with the press has been his personal glorification. The effectiveness of this press agentry may be evident in Mr. Moss's success in capturing both the Democratic and Republican nominations in California's Third Congressional District.[9]

The desire of the press to open up channels of information extends to state as well as national government, and during recent years newspaper groups have been instrumental in bringing about the passage of laws limiting governmental secrecy in a number of states, including Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania.[10]

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[6] For a summary of the Dixon-Yates dispute, see the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* Vol. 11 (1955), pp. 533–538.

[7] See *New York Times,* June 20, 1959, p. 8.

[8] See the memorandum from Attorney General Brownell to President Eisenhower, as printed in *Replies from Federal Agencies to Questionnaire Submitted by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., Nov. 1, 1955, pp. 546–552.

[9] *Thirty-Fifth Report by the Committee on Government Operations,* 85th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Rept. No. 2578, Aug. 13, 1958, p. 243.

Since World War II executive secrecy has also come under heavy fire from the nation's scientific community. This criticism has its roots in the growing involvement of the federal government in scientific research—an involvement that has brought technical development in many fields, particularly atomic energy, under substantial government control. Today scientists in and out of government service have a vested interest in governmental procedures and policies concerning the release of information in their professional field. In this area the web of executive secrecy extends beyond government itself, and embraces projects operated by private institutions under governmental auspices.

Much of the scientific criticism of secrecy rests on the premise that it is unnecessary, because it attempts to conceal matters that are part of the general fund of scientific knowledge in the Western world, or that can be easily discovered by scientists working outside the classification system. There is, of course, general agreement that the weapons developed through modern science may themselves need to be kept secret, but as one scientist put it:

> A field as basic as that of magnetism is known to all competent scientists throughout the world already. If there is something new ready to be discovered in that field, it will also be discovered by people in other countries. An attempt to keep such a discovery secret in this country would handicap ourselves, I am sure, more than it would withhold from others.[11]

One striking fact which this comment points up is the changing character of the so-called "state secret." In the past such secrets dealt mainly with purely military matters—troop dispositions, fortifications, battle plans and the like. This was information that a potential adversary could only obtain through espionage. Now increasingly, even the strictest counter-intelligence measures cannot hide a secret that another country can uncover through scientific research and exploration in its own laboratories. Of course, if one scientific community keeps its inventions secret, it may be able to delay the speed of comparable discoveries elsewhere. This is one of the compelling considerations behind the proliferation of restrictions on disclosure of scientific information. But insofar as such restrictions serve to stimulate more intensive counter-efforts toward secrecy or toward fresh discoveries in rival camps, they may yield little or no net advantage. And the U-2 affair provides a graphic illustration of the stimulus secrecy gives to retaliatory espionage.

The difficulty of keeping secrets is related to what is perhaps the most basic of all scientific criticisms of governmental secrecy. This is the charge that it has become unduly negative in its effects through its stress upon the necessity of concealing rather than uncovering information. In the view of an influential part of the scientific community, innovation and development depend essentially upon a widespread flow of communications among scientists working on related problems. Insofar as governmental secrecy stifles such communications, it hampers scientific progress. From this perspective, the benefits to be gained in terms of a high rate of scientific discovery more than offset whatever element of risk may be present in removing restrictions on communications. Scientific achievement is itself regarded as the firmest basis for national security.

Not the least of the advantages of a policy of maximum disclosure is the fact that it strengthens the possibility of the chance discovery that has played so important a role in the history of science, and assists in the "hot pursuit" of a scientific problem from its genesis to its solution. As one scientist has noted:

> . . . The really significant new concepts of Science are often, if not always, the result of associations of widely diverse facts and ideas that may not hitherto have seemed remotely connected.
>
> Such ideas as the laws of mechanics and the concepts of space and time derived from astronomy, together with the work of Planck on high temperature radiation, led Einstein to postulate the equivalence of mass and energy. On this concept is based the development of nuclear energy.
>
> Yet today, any intelligent military organization, operating under the present security rules, would certainly classify the equivalent of Planck's work so that it would be denied to a potential Einstein.[12]

Needless to say, reasonable men still disagree as to whether the gains from a high rate of discovery equal or offset the loss that may be involved in opening up a one-way system of communications with a potential national adversary.

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[10] See *New York Times*, June 23 and July 12, 1957.

[11] *Twenty-Third Report by the Committee on Government Operations*, 85th Cong. 2d Sess., H. Rept. No. 1619, April 22, 1958, p. 21.

[12] See *Hearings*, House Subcommittee on Government Information, 84th Cong., 2d Sess., Mar. 7, 8, 9, 1956, p. 756.

The direct and indirect support given the legislative attack upon executive secrecy by both the press and the scientific community reflects the degree to which the legislature serves broader interests than its own in its efforts to prevent the withholding of executive information. But it need hardly be noted that a legislative crusade against administrative secrecy would necessarily compel wide support from all those who prize informed public deliberations and executive accountability. Students of political institutions themselves have a special stake in the success of legislative efforts to expose the processes of government to unremitting scrutiny, since disclosure here is so valuable an aid to effective scholarship. Congressional attacks upon executive secrecy thus have the sanctity of serving a broad range of community interests while at the same time maximizing legislative self-interest.

II

And yet the paradoxical fact is that while the cause of open government owes much to the legislative effort to uproot executive secrecy, Congress itself is responsible in no small measure for the extent to which the practice of withholding information has become a characteristic feature of executive operations. Time and again the groups allied with Congress in the struggle for a less restrictive policy on the re-release of information have found a cluster of statutes imbedded at the root of executive secrecy, even where such secrecy is also grounded on the claim of executive privilege or presidential directive. In its investigations of government secrecy the Moss Subcommittee found that government agencies could refer to a wide range of statutes in defense of the suppression of information. The Department of Agriculture, for example, was able to cite no less than 15 laws, including the Commodity Exchange Act, Tobacco Stocks and Standards Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended.[13]

It has, for example, been long-standing congressional practice to provide statutory protection for the privacy of certain kinds of business information in the hands of government officials when its release might inflict undeserved economic injury or provide windfall benefits. Legislation establishing regulatory agencies, such as the FTC and the SEC, commonly contains provisions designed to prevent government employees from disclosing information regarding the internal affairs of business firms under their jurisdiction. A statute enacted in 1948 applies this prohibition generally to all government agencies:

> Whoever, being an officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, publishes, divulges, discloses, or makes known in any manner or to any extent not authorized by law any information coming to him in the course of his employment or official duties . . . shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and shall be removed from office or employment.[14]

Laws of this kind ordinarily provide a business firm with some protection against having trade secrets, technical processes or financial records disclosed to business rivals; they help government agencies to get the trade cooperation needed for the collection of data for statistical compilations.

Such statutes also attempt to insure against the possibility that a government official may use information gained in his official capacity for his private pecuniary advantage, or may assist others in doing so. A case in point occurred in 1956 when a congressional committee looked into the circumstances that enabled several investors to make quick profits on Northeast Airlines stock after they received advance information of a Civil Aeronautics Board decision to award a highly prized and supposedly lucrative New York-to-Miami route to Northeast. The chairman of the CAB, in asking Congress for legislation to curb these leaks, declared that such disclosures had plagued his agency for years.[15] Preventing the advance release of information valuable in market speculation is a particular problem for regulatory agencies such as the CAB and the SEC, but it arises in many other areas as well, *e.g.*, in connection with the release of crop reports by the USDA.[16] Nor is it confined to administrative agencies; legislative and judicial decisions on tax matters present similar problems.

Since World War II Congressional support for executive secrecy has put great emphasis upon preventing the disclosure of information affecting national security. The Atomic Energy

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[13] See *Replies from Federal Agencies to Questionnaire Submitted by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information*, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., Nov. 1, 1955, pp. 7–10.

[14] 18 U.S.C. §1905.

[15] The investigation was carried on under the direction of Senator Henry Jackson. See *Leaks of CAB Decision of August 2, 1956 Affecting Northeast Airlines Stock*, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., May 1–21, 1957.

[16] The secrecy of crop reports is protected by 18 U.S.C. §1902.

Act of 1946, especially, was an unprecedented attempt at statutory definition of one entire area of information made subject to stringent government control.[17] And pursuant to a recommendation of the United States Commission on Government Security (four of whose twelve members were Congressmen), legislation was introduced in 1957 which would have extended the criminal penalties attached to espionage to cover reporters and others outside the government who disclosed official information that had not been authorized for publication.[18] This proposal provoked widespread criticism from newspapers across the country, particularly after the chairman of the Commission had publicly chastised the press for the "dark chapters of betrayal" it had written in American history; and Congress did not enact the bill.[19] Writing in the *New York Times,* James Reston noted that under its terms newsmen would have been liable to prosecution for the exposure of administrative scandal in both the Teapot Dome and the Dixon-Yates affairs.

Recent years have brought no more dramatic proof of the willingness of Congress to align itself on the side of secrecy in at least some areas of executive operations than the series of events in the wake of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Jencks* v. *United States.*[20] For two and one-half months following this decision, hardly a day went by without an expression of legislative apprehension over the jeopardy in which the Court's decision was believed to have placed vital administrative secrets. This anxiety finally culminated in the passage of a bill designed to restrict if not eliminate the possiblity that confidential executive records might be exposed to public scrutiny.

The Supreme Court decision which triggered this response was handed down on June 3, 1957. It had its origins in the conviction of a union organizer, Clifford Jencks, for false statements on a non-Communist affidavit submitted under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act. During his trial, two government witnesses testified that Jencks had engaged in Communist activities during the period covered by the affidavit. The defense thereupon sought access to reports these witnesses had made to the FBI contemporaneously with the events covered in their testimony at the trial. The trial judge's refusal to grant this request was upheld by the circuit court upon appeal,[21] on the ground that a request of this kind was allowable only where the defense made some showing of inconsistency between the earlier reports and the testimony given at a trial. This conclusion was in good part based upon earlier Supreme Court decisions in which access to government records had been denied.[22]

But the Supreme Court, in handing down the *Jencks* decision, distinguished away its previous opinions and ruled that such an inconsistency need not necessarily be shown, though of course it would heighten the need for disclosure. Justice Brennan, who delivered the majority opinion, concluded that the defense should be given direct access to records bearing on a witness' testimony. Only in this way could a defense attorney determine whether or not these documents would be of material assistance in impeaching the testimony of government witnesses. However, Justice Burton, speaking for three justices who joined in a concurring opinion, argued that material from government files should first be presented to the presiding judge for review. The trial judge could then in his discretion withhold documentary material if it did not appear relevant to the testimony in dispute, or if its exposure would jeopardize state secrets.

In a strongly worded dissent, Justice Clark said the majority's opinion afforded the criminal "a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets," and he predicted that the decision would open up "a veritable Pandora's box of troubles." This dissent was not a very precise reading of the majority opinion. Justice Brennan had said explicitly that the Court's opinion did not authorize any broad fishing expeditions into government files. The defense was to have access only to documents related to testimony given by a government witness.

The dissent was nevertheless prophetic. For however narrow a construction the majority may have intended to put upon the right of inspection allowable under its decision, many lower courts proceeded to interpret the case as though Justice Clark's dissent was the authoritative reading of the Court's opinion. Some of these courts immediately adopted the view that the government must now turn over the entire body of its investigative reports to the defense, even though only a small part was actually related to testimony given by a witness for the prosecution. A federal court in Atlanta, for example, ordered the government to come forward with its entire investigative report in a prevailing-wage violation case. (Here the advantages of access would go not to a Communist but to a capitalist employer.) And in Pittsburgh an indictment was dismissed when the Narcotics Bureau refused to unveil its complete investigative files following the testimony of a government witness. Elsewhere similar decisions requiring wholesale disclosure were handed down.[23]

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[17] The 1954 amendments to the act went some distance toward relaxing this control. See Herbert S. Marks and George F. Trowbridge, "Control of Information under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* Vol. 11 (April, 1955), pp. 128–130.

[18] See United States Commission on Government Security, *Report* (Washington, GPO, 1957).

[19] *New York Times,* July 1, 1957.

[20] 353 U. S. 657 (1957).

[21] 226 F. 2d. 540 (1955).

[22] Particularly Gordon v. United States, 344 U. S. 414 (1953).

Moreover, some district judges jumped to the conclusion that the new ruling required the pre-trial discovery of information in government files. Actually the Court's opinion had touched only on a situation in which the defense sought access to documents after a government witness had testified at a trial and when it appeared that these documents might be useful in impeaching testimony. This lower-court expansion of the *Jencks* ruling to require pre-trial disclosure led one enterprising attorney in Texas to write the Department of Justice requesting that the entire Government file on a pending case be mailed to him for his inspection. And when an FBI agent in Kentucky did not immediately accede to a court order directing him to furnish the defense with all documents, statements and exhibits intended for use in a forthcoming trial, the court held that he was in civil contempt and fined him $1,000.

A rising chorus of complaint against the *Jencks* decision and the implications being read into it by lower courts came welling up from Congress and in newspaper editorials across the country.[24] The dark forebodings contained in Clark's dissenting opinion seemed amply justified by events. The conviction spread that criminals, subversives and other undesirables would soon be rooting about in government files—searching out the identity of confidential informants and obtaining leads on the investigative techniques followed by law enforcement agencies. Congress was particularly disturbed over the implications of the decision for FBI activities in the field of internal security. Ultimately, almost the entire legislative debate over the *Jencks* decision came to turn upon its effect upon future prosecutions in subversion and espionage cases. In point of fact, however, the immediate and apparent effects of the decision were most keenly felt in other more traditional areas of federal criminal law enforcement.

To meet what the Attorney General of the United States called "a grave emergency in Federal law enforcement," no less than fourteen bills were introduced in Congress clarifying or limiting the effects of the *Jencks* decision. As its terms were eventually spelled out, the legislation adopted went a long way toward curbing expansive interpretations of the decision by lower courts. The law now requires the government to disclose only those prior statements of a witness which relate to his testimony, and the defense can gain access to such reports only after a witness has testified. In enacting this new law, Congress also threw its weight behind Justice Burton's concurring opinion and its restrained view on the procedure to be followed in granting disclosure. The records sought by the defense must first be screened by the presiding judge, who is given discretion to withhold material that appears unrelated to the testimony of the witness at the trial.

The furor aroused by the *Jencks* decision provides compelling evidence of the zeal with which Congress may on occasion spring to the defense of executive secrecy. Indeed, when the question of remedial legislation was being discussed, the Attorney General and other law enforcement officials in the executive branch actually asked for much less in the way of protection of their files than many Congressmen were prepared to give. Clearly, in this instance the legislature, rather than the executive or the judiciary, led the way in protecting the secrecy of executive records. Moreover, the speed with which the bill was pushed through Congress led one Senator to assert that "this ill-considered legislation is being rushed through the Senate without an adequate opportunity for all Senators to understand its real purport."[25]

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[23] For summaries of lower court interpretations of the Jencks decision, see *Establishing Procedures for the Production of Government Records in Criminal Cases in United States Courts*, S. Rept. No. 569, July 1, 1957, pp. 5–8, and *Establishing Procedures for the Production of Certain Government Records in Federal Criminal Cases*, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Rept. No. 700, July 5, 1957, pp. 9–11. See also the *Congressional Record* for August 26, 1957, Vol. 103, No. 155, pp. 14551–14554. (Citations here and hereafter are to the daily edition.)

[24] For some representative congressional views, see the debates in the House on August 27, 1957, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 103, No. 156, pp. 14715–14732. A sampling of unfavorable newspaper editorials may be found in the *Congressional Record* of August 26, 1957, pp. A7039, 7044, 7049, 7053, 7056. In interpreting the Jencks opinion, most of these editorials take their cue from the Clark dissent.

III.

In retrospect it is clear that however vigorous legislative attacks upon executive secrecy may occasionally be, Congress itself must bear much of the responsibility for the administrative practice of withholding information. A variety of statutes have been adopted which underwrite secrecy throughout the executive branch, while other laws protect segments of information lodged within the jurisdiction of particular agencies. To be sure, the legislature has also enacted statutes pointed squarely in the direction of disclosure rather than secrecy. A principal objective of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, for instance, was to force executive agencies to disclose data bearing on such matters as their internal organization and distribution of authority. The legislative history of the act makes this point explicitly in connection with the provisions relating to publicity:

> The section has been drawn upon the theory that administrative operations and procedures are public property which the general public, rather than a few specialists or lobbyists, is entitled to know or to have the ready means of knowing with definiteness and assurance.[26]

In actual fact, however, the section of the law introducing the requirement of publicity was so laden with exceptions that executive agencies soon came to rely on it very heavily as a justification for withholding rather than disclosing information.[27]

To some degree, of course, experience with the publicity provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act reflects the success of executive agencies in contriving to interpret statutes to suit their own convenience. The law identifies several circumstances in which the publicity requirement does not apply, and executive officials have been quick to read these provisions as giving a general sanction to secrecy. The Federal Reserve Board, for example, is one agency that has interpreted the publicity provisions of the law as permitting "nonpublication and nondisclosure of any information to the extent that it involves functions requiring nondisclosure in the public interest or matters which for good cause found are held to be confidential."[28]

But the fate of the Administrative Procedure Act also testifies that Congress is unable to write a general statute requiring disclosure without at the same time making ample provision for those occasions when the public interest will demand that executive officials keep certain communications confidential. This point was made decisively clear in 1958, when Congressional advocates of open government attempted to remove one of the chief statutory shields behind which executive secrecy had traditionally been maintained—the housekeeping act passed in 1789 which authorizes the heads of executive departments to control the "custody, use and preservation" of their own records.[29]

This housekeeping act has been at the center of the struggle over executive secrecy for many years. It has figured in countless legal tests in which the courts have upheld the right of the head of an executive agency to forbid his subordinates to disclose information coming to them in their official capacity. The following statement from the legal representative of the American Publishers Association is indicative of the importance that opponents of executive secrecy attach to this statute:

> This 'housekeeping' statute, destitute as it is of all vestige of definitions and standards, is susceptible of being tortured, and has been tortured, with judicial sanction, it must be admitted, into a claim of privilege against disclosure and inspection so all encompassing that it may fairly be said that there is no hope of obtaining inspection of a public record not specifically opened by Congress except through the courtesy of the Government.[30]

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[25] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 103, No. 148, August 15, 1957, p. 13642. The Supreme Court subsequently ruled, in Rosenberg v. U. S., 79 S. Ct. 1231 (1959), that this legislation and not the Jencks decision now "governs the production of statements of government witnesses for a defendant's inspection at trial." See also Palermo v. U. S. and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. v. U. S., 79 S. Ct. 1217 and 1237 (1959).

[26] *Administrative Procedure Act*, 79th Cong. 2d Sess., S. Doc. No. 248, July 26, 1946, p. 198.

[27] See *Replies from Federal Agencies to Questionnaire Submitted by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information*, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., Nov. 1, 1955. Proposals are now (June, 1960) pending before Congress to amend the APA so as to prevent its being used to justify secrecy.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[29] 5 U.S.C.A. §22.

[30] Harold L. Cross, in *Hearings*, House Subcommittee on Government Information, 84th Cong., 1st sess., Nov. 7, 1955, p. 12. Cross is a life-long foe of governmental secrecy and the author of the most comprehensive legal study of the subject, *The People's Right to Know* (New York, 1953).

From the beginning of its investigations in 1955, the House Subcommittee on Government Information singled out this statute as mainly responsible for the spread of executive secrecy.[31] In 1958, after more than two years of hearings and investigation, the committee chairman, Representative Moss, introduced a bill to underline the fact that the housekeeping law "does not authorize withholding information from the public or limiting the availability of records to the public." A companion bill was introduced by Senator Hennings in the Senate. Support for this legislation came principally from newspaper groups, and it was opposed by each of the ten executive departments.[32] Ultimately the bill was approved by both houses of Congress and signed by the President.

Before it finally became law, however, Representative Moss was obliged to assure his Congressional colleagues that passage of his amendment would not endanger the secrecy of military and diplomatic records, income tax returns, trade secrets received by the government in confidence, FBI reports, or information that could be withheld legitimately under other laws enacted by Congress.[33] In final effect that statute did little more than clarify a point that judicial decision has sometimes left obscure—that the housekeeping statute does not give the head of an executive department the right to withhold information, but merely grants him the authority to center decisions on the release of information in his own hands, thus withdrawing, if he chooses, discretion on such matters from the hands of subordinates. In a report issued in 1960 the subcommittee was later to admit that its amendment had had little effect in curbing executive secrecy.

IV

At the root of the congressional dilemma over administrative secrecy is the fundamental difficulty of reconciling the divergent claims of publicity and privacy in the operations of democratic government. The case for publicity is a powerful one, and it has been well stated by such stalwarts of democratic doctrine as Jeremy Bentham, J. S. Mill and Woodrow Wilson.[34] Nothing could be more axiomatic for a democracy than the principle of exposing the processes of government to relentless public criticism and scrutiny. "Open covenants openly arrived at" is merely an application to international affairs of a principle that is deeply rooted in the inner logic of democracy.

And yet there is an obvious place for privacy in a free society, and in such critical parts of its governmental operations as the jury room and the polling booth. Cardozo's defense of secrecy in jury proceedings has equal application in other areas where dispassionate deliberation is called for in the democratic process: "Freedom of debate might be stifled and independence of thought checked if jurors were made to feel that their arguments and ballots were to be freely published to the world."[35] This is not to deny that secrecy can be a dominant ideal only in an authoritarian community, and that in a democratic community it can be tolerated only as an exception to the prevailing rule of publicity.

While the need for privacy in the decisions of juries and voters is well accepted, it is much less generally agreed that executive deliberations need at any point to be shrouded in secrecy. Presidents have often made this claim, as Eisenhower did very recently in the case of the Gaither report which spelled out certain weaknesses in the nation's defense system.[36] In this instance the report had been prepared by a group of private citizens, and the administration argued that their willingness to volunteer their time and advice to the government was in good part dependent upon the assurance that they would not be subject to political attack for having expressed an honest opinion. Presidents have used much the same argument in justifying their refusal to allow their subordinates to be interrogated about advice given the executive.[37] In a recent letter to the

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[31] See an article by the chief counsel of the Government Information Subcommittee, John J. Mitchell, "Government Secrecy in Theory and Practice: 'Rules and Regulations' As an Autonomous Screen," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 58, (Feb., 1958), pp. 199–210.

[32] See *Hearings*, House Subcommittee on Government Information, 85th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 6, 7, July 22, 1958.

[33] *New York Times*, April 17, 1958, p. 17.

[34] For a discussion of the role of publicity in traditional democratic doctrine, see Maure L. Goldschmidt, "Publicity, Privacy and Secrecy," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 7 (Sept., 1954), pp. 401–416.

[35] As quoted, *ibid.*, p. 405, fn. 15.

[36] Eisenhower's press conference defense of his position is reported in the *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1958, p. 14. See also the column by James Reston, Jan. 23, 1958, p. 10.

[37] For a recent discussion of the presidential position on this point, see Joseph W. Bishop, Jr., "The Executive's Right of Privacy: An Unresolved Constitutional Question," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 66 (Feb., 1957), pp. 477–491.

Secretary of Defense, Eisenhower made this point with unusual force:

> . . . it is essential to efficient and effective administration that employees of the executive branch be in a position to be completely candid in advising with each other on official matters, and . . . it is not in the public interest that any of their conversations or communications, or any documents or reproductions, concerning such advice be disclosed. . . .[38]

The fact that privacy has its uses could hardly be challenged by any of the critics of executive secrecy. Congressmen, for example, commonly resort to secrecy to facilitate their own deliberations. Committee meetings in executive session have long been an object of attack by the media of communication. The prevalence of the practice is evident from the following tabulation:[39]

TABLE I. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS IN EXECUTIVE SESSION, 1953–1960

Year	Total Meetings	Number Closed	Percent Closed
1953	2,640	892	35%
1954	3,002	1,243	41
1955	2,940	1,055	36
1956	3,120	1,130	36
1957	3,251	1,103	34
1958	3,472	1,167	34
1959	3,152	940	30
1960 (Jan. 6–Mar. 31)	952	287	30

Newspapermen themselves have been quick to claim the privilege of privacy in refusing to divulge the identity of confidential informants to the press—a refusal that has on occasion gotten them into trouble with the law.[40] Nor has the scientific community been averse to using secrecy when it has served its purposes. The views of one distinguished scientific critic of executive secrecy, Arthur H. Compton, have been described as follows:

> As he talked, it became apparent that he was an enemy of governmental secrecy chiefly because he felt that it inconvenienced scientists and science. Where he felt it might work to the advantage of science or any other institution of which he approved, he had no objections.[41]

The truth of the matter is that every major institution or profession in American life finds some measure of privacy useful for the achievement of its special objectives.

A variety of cross-pressures complicates the task of finding a balance between secrecy and publicity in administrative operations. Executive agencies may, for example, find themselves under simultaneous attack on the grounds that they are engaging in excessive secrecy and excessive publicity—hiding behind a "paper curtain of secrecy," while at the same time flooding the American people with a torrent of propaganda. The Defense Department was recently caught in such a cross-fire. While the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Government Information was assailing the department for concealing what was going on at Cape Canaveral, other legislators and newspapers across the country were taking the defense agency to task for permitting any publicity in connection with this country's initial (and abortive) experiment with launching a satellite into orbit.

Of course executive officials have themselves contributed a great deal to their own difficulties when some of them have engaged in deceptive practices while invoking administrative secrecy. One of the worst examples of this is the practice of leaking a one-sided version of events from executive files that are otherwise closed to the public. This partial disclosure of information may permit the executive to shape public opinion in ways that would not be possible if the whole story were made immediately available for critical appraisal. And, as the Dixon-Yates and other episodes suggest, administrative secrecy may be used for no higher purpose than to conceal dubious conduct on the part of executive officials. The case for legitimate privacy in governmental affairs is constantly being compromised by unwarranted secrecy.

To a very large degree public discussion of government information policy has been shaped by journalists and others connected with the communications media. They have a tendency to over-emphasize those aspects of the problem which impinge on the interests of the newspaper and television industries. These interests are challenged primarily by excessive publicity which presents the spectre of governmental competition at the source of news, and executive secrecy, which threatens to block off access to news. It has not always been as forcefully pointed out that the public interest may suffer at least equal damage from ineffective publicity or insufficient privacy in the affairs of government. It is clear, for example, that in areas such as civil defense and urban redevelopment, government information programs have often been characterized by an inability to attract public attention, rather than by the excesses of any official propaganda machine.

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[38] The Eisenhower letter is reproduced in the *Twenty-Fifth Intermediate Report of the Committee on Government Operations*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 2947, July 27, 1956, pp. 64–65.

[39] See *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Vol. 17 (Apr. 22, 1960), p. 670.

[40] See, for example, the recent case involving a *New York Herald Tribune* columnist, Garland v. Torre, 259 F. 2d 545 (1958).

[41] Richard Rovere, "Letter from Washington," *The New Yorker* (May 16, 1959), p. 96.

In the light of the record rather than the heat of Congressional oratory, it can be seen that the legislature has done a good deal more to support the practice of executive secrecy than it has always been willing to admit. To be sure, congressional concessions to the need for secrecy in the executive process have come principally in the areas where state secrets are involved, or where a strong case can be made for withholding information to protect a property interest on the part of either government or a private citizen. Critics of the Atomic Energy Act have contended that the legislature has, if anything, been too anxious to protect state secrets.[42]

The value that tends to be slighted in Congressional calculation is the need for privacy when it is designed merely to shield administrative deliberations from unnecessary or premature publicity. However, since the President can, when he chooses, quite easily guard the confidential character of executive communications from legislative curiosity, the congressional disinclination to respect executive privacy may in effect be regarded as a useful part of the check and balance system. It unquestionably acts as a deterrent to any executive tendency to use privacy for the purpose of covering up blunders or to engage in self-serving publicity. In playing this "watch-dog" role, Congress undoubtedly engages in far more alarms and excursions than the danger warrants, but this is the price that society has traditionally had to pay for the watch-dog function.

During recent years the resourcefulness of the legislature in exposing the affairs of bureaucracy has been very much in evidence. In the period immediately following World War II, the need for secrecy received extensive support, both in a formal way through statutes, executive orders, and presidential directives, and informally through the great variety of psychological inducements to secrecy that have developed around the operation of the classification system in defense agencies. At the same time, however, criticism of excessive secrecy has also found firm institutional expression, most dramatically through the work of the House Subcommittee on Government Information and the companion activities of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in the Senate.

The Moss subcommittee alone numbers several achievments to its credit. Thus far its investigations have led not only, as previously noted, to a revision of the basic statute governing administrative housekeeping so as to reduce the likelihood of this law being used to support unnecessary secrecy, but also to the elimination of many administrative regulations and procedures which had encouraged executive agencies to withhold information needlessly. The Department of Defense established an Office of Declassification Policy in an effort to cut down on the backlog of classified material stored in government warehouses and in July 1960 it instituted a system of automatically declassifying documents over a twelve-year period. The Department of Agriculture developed arrangements for releasing information concerning the activities of its advisory committees. And a variety of other agencies, including the Bureau of Customs, the General Services Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association, have revised their information practices so as to permit greater disclosure of official information to the public. As one witness before the subcommittee noted:

> This subcommittee has already done a great deal to expedite the flow of Government information. The mere fact that this committee was created, that it has raised questions, that it has solicited information from Government agencies on information policies—all have helped to improve current information practices.[43]

Simultaneously, groups such as the American Society of Newspaper Editors and Sigma Delta Chi, the honorary journalism fraternity, working particularly through their freedom of information committees, have kept up unrelenting pressure for more permissive policies. Many of the hearings of the Moss subcommittee have been held as a result of complaints from reporters that they were denied access to official data by government agencies, and the work of the committee has received frequent indorsement in newspaper editorials and at meetings of press associations across the country. The extent and character of the collaboration that has developed between the Moss subcommittee and the newspaper community is suggested by the following case:

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[42] See, for example, Harold P. Green, "Atomic Energy Information Control," *Chicago Bar Record*, Vol. 38 (Nov., 1956), pp. 55–62.

[43] *Twenty-Fifth Intermediate Report of the Committee on Government Operations*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 2947, July 27, 1956, p. 78.

> The Portland Journal in Portland, Oregon, requested access to a Veterans' Administration report on residential lot values in the Portland metropolitan area. The report was prepared for the Veterans' Administration by a group of non-Government real estate appraisers. After VA officials refused to make the report public, the Portland Journal contacted Herbert Brucker, chairman of the freedom of information committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Mr. Brucker complained to the Special Subcommittee on Government Information that refusal of the report restricted access to public information.
>
> The Committee Report on Survey and Residential Lot Value Opinions, dated July 25, 1956, was made public by the Veterans' Administration after the agency was contacted by the subcommittee.[44]

Aside from the question of whether the committee's success in forcing the disclosure of information has always been in the public interest, its record thus far gives ample assurance that—apart perhaps from the affairs of military agencies—administrative officials are quite defensive about withholding information and are reluctant to persist in practices of secrecy when these practices are exposed to public view or come under Congressional criticism. This reluctance springs in some measure from the fact that the political norms of administrators have been framed in the same ideological tradition as congressmen and newspaper editors. But whether this ideological commitment on the part of executive officials to freedom of information be strong or weak, it does not disparage the role that congressional and public scrutiny play in prodding the administrator's conscience, for it cannot be denied that the tradition of disclosure might wither in the shade of administrative evasion or inertia were it not for the continued exercise of outside vigilance.

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[44] *Second Report by the Committee on Government Operations*, 85th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. No. 157, Feb. 22, 1957, p. 43.

SYMBOLS AND POLITICAL QUIESCENCE

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Few forms of explanation of political phenomena are more common than the assertion that the success of some group was facilitated by the "apathy" of other groups with opposing interests. If apathy is not an observable phenomenon in a political context because it connotes an individual's mental state, quiescence is observable. It is the purpose of this paper to specify some conditions associated with political quiescence in the formation of business regulation policies. Although the same general conditions are apparently applicable to the formation of public policies in any area, the argument and the examples used here focus upon the field of government regulation of business in order to make the paper manageable and to permit more intensive treatment.

Political quiescence toward a policy area can be assumed to be a function either of lack of interest—whether it is simple indifference or stems rather from a sense of futility about the practical prospects of securing obviously desirable changes—or of the satisfaction of whatever interest the quiescent group may have in the policy in question. Our concern here is with the forms of satisfaction. In analyzing the various means by which it can come to pass, the following discussion distinguishes between interests in resources (whether goods or freedoms to act) and interests in symbols connoting the suppression of threats to the group in question. Few political scientists would doubt, on the basis of common sense evidence, that public policies have value to interested groups both as symbols and as instruments for the allocation of more tangible values. The political process has been much less thoroughly studied as a purveyor of symbols, however; and there is a good deal of evidence, to be presented below, that symbols are a more central component of the process than is commonly recognized in political scientists' explicit or implicit models.[1]

Three related hypotheses will be considered:

(1) The interests of organized groups in tangible resources or in substantive power are less easily satiable than are interests in symbolic reassurance.

(2) Necessary conditions associated with the occurrence of the latter type of interest are:

(a) the existence of economic conditions in some measure threatening the security of a large group;

(b) the absence of organization for the purpose of furthering the common interest of that group;

(c) widespread political responses suggesting the prevalence of inaccurate, oversimplified, and distorted perceptions of the issue.

(3) The pattern of political activity represented by lack of organization, distorted perception, interests in symbolic reassurance, and quiescence is a key element in the ability of organized groups to use political agencies in order to make good their claims on tangible resources and power, thus continuing the threat to the unorganized.

Available evidence bearing on these hypotheses will be marshalled as follows. First, some widely accepted propositions regarding group claims, quiescence, and techniques for satisfying group interests in governmental regulation of business will be summarized. Next, some pertinent experimental and empirical findings of other disciplines will be considered. Finally the paper will explore the possibility of integrating the various findings and applying them to the propositions listed above.

I

If the regulatory process is examined in terms of a divergence between political and legal promises on the one hand and resource allocations and group reactions on the other hand, the largely symbolic character of the entire process becomes apparent. What do the studies of government regulation of business tell us of the role and functions of that amorphous group who have an interest in these policies in the sense that they are affected by them, but who are not rationally organized to pursue their interest? The following generalizations would probably be accepted by most students, perhaps with occasional changes of emphasis:

(1) Tangible resources and benefits are frequently not distributed to unorganized political group interests as promised in regulatory statutes and the propaganda attending their enactment.

This is not true of legal fictions, but rather of the values held out to (or demanded by) groups which regard themselves as disadvantaged and which presumably anticipate benefits from a regulatory policy. There is virtually unanimous agreement among students of the anti-trust laws, the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission acts, the Interstate Commerce acts, the public utility statutes and the right-to-work laws, for example, that through much of the history of their administration these statutes have been ineffective in the sense that many of the values they promised have not in fact been realized. The story has not been uniform, of course; but the general point hardly needs detailed documentation at this late date. Herring,[2] Leiserson,[3] Truman,[4] and Bernstein[5] all conclude that few regulatory policies have been pursued unless they proved acceptable to the regulated groups or served the interests of these groups. Within the past decade Redford,[6] Bernstein[7] and others have offered a "life cycle" theory of regulatory history, showing a more or less regular pattern of loss of vigor by regulatory agencies. For purposes of the present argument it need not be assumed that this always happens but only that it frequently happens in important cases.[8]

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[1] Harold Lasswell is a major exception, and some of his contributions will be noted.

(2) When it does happen, the deprived groups often display little tendency to protest or to assert their awareness of the deprivation.

The fervent display of public wrath, or enthusiasm, in the course of the initial legislative attack on forces seen as threatening "the little man" is a common American spectacle. It is about as predictable as the subsequent lapse of the same fervor. Again, it does not always occur, but it happens often enough to call for thorough explanation. The leading students of regulatory processes have all remarked upon it; but most of these scholars, who ordinarily display a close regard for rigor and full exploration, dismiss this highly significant political behavior rather casually. Thus, Redford declares that, "In the course of time the administrator finds that the initial public drive and congressional sentiment behind his directive has wilted and that political support for change from the existing pattern is lacking."[9]

Although the presumed beneficiaries of regulatory legislation often show little or no concern with its failure to protect them, they are nevertheless assumed to constitute a potential base of political support for the retention of these statutes in the law books. The professional politician is probably quite correct when he acts on the assumption that his advocacy of this regulatory legislation, in principle, is a widely popular move, even though actual resource allocations inconsistent with the promise of the statutes are met with quiescence. These responses (support of the statute; apathy toward failure to allocate resources as the statute promises) define the meanings of the law so far as the presumed beneficiaries are concerned.[10]

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[2] E. Pendleton Herring, *Public Administration and the Public Interest* (New York, 1936), p. 213.

[3] Avery Leiserson, *Administrative Regulation: A Study in Representation of Interests* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 14.

[4] David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York, 1951), ch. 5.

[5] Marver Bernstein, *Regulating Business by Independent Commissions* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1955), ch. 3.

[6] Emmette S. Redford, *Administration of National Economic Control* (New York, 1952), pp. 385–386.

[7] *Op. cit.*, note 5 above.

[8] In addition to the statements in these analytical treatments of the administrative process, evidence for the proposition that regulatory statutes often fail to have their promised consequences in terms of resource allocation are found in general studies of government regulation of business and in empirical research on particular statutes. As an example of the former see Clair Wilcox, *Public Policies Toward Business* (Chicago, 1955). As examples of the latter see Frederic Meyers, *'Right to Work' in Practice* (New York: Fund for the Republic, 1959); Walton Hamilton and Irene Till, *Antitrust in Action*, TNEC Monograph 16 (Washington: GPO, 1940).

[9] Redford, *op. cit.*, p. 383. Similar explanations appear in Herring, *op. cit.*, p. 227, and Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83. Some writers have briefly suggested more rigorous explanations, consistent with the hypotheses discussed in this paper, though they do not consider the possible role of interests in symbolic reassurance. Thus Truman calls attention to organizational factors, emphasizing the ineffectiveness of interest groups "whose interactions on the basis of the interest are not sufficiently frequent or stabilized to produce an intervening organization and whose multiple memberships, on the same account, are a constant threat to the strength of the claim." Truman, *op. cit.*, p. 441. Multiple group memberships are, of course, characteristic of individuals in all organizations, stable and unstable; and "infrequent interactions" is a phenomenon that itself calls for explanation if a common interest is recognized. Bernstein, *loc. cit.*, refers to the "undramatic nature" of administration and to the assumption that the administrative agency will protect the public.

[10] *Cf.* the discussion of meaning in George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 78–79.

It is the frequent inconsistency between the two types of response that is puzzling.

(3) The most intensive dissemination of symbols commonly attends the enactment of egislation which is most meaningless in its effects upon resource allocation. In the legislative history of particular regulatory statutes the provisions least significant for resource allocation are most widely publicized and the most significant provisions are least widely publicized.

The statutes listed under Proposition 1 as having promised something substantially different from what was delivered are also the ones which have been most intensively publicized as symbolizing protection of widely shared nterests. Trust-busting, "Labor's Magna Carta" (the Clayton Act), protection against price discrimination and deceptive trade practices, protection against excessive public utility charges, tight control of union bureaucracies (or, by other groups, the "slave labor law"), federal ncome taxation according to "ability to pay," are the terms and symbols widely disseminated to the public as descriptive of much of the leading federal and state regulation of the last seven decades; and they are precisely the descriptions shown by careful students to be most misleading. Nor is it any less misleading if one quotes the exact language of the most widely publicized specific provisions of these laws: Section 1 of the Sherman Act, Sections 6 and 20 of the Clayton Act, or the closed shop, secondary boycott, or emergency strike provisions of Taft-Hartley, for example. In none of these instances would a reading of either the text of the statutory provision or the attendant claims and publicity enable an observer to predict even the direction of future regulatory policy, let alone its precise objectives.

Other features of these statutes also stand as the symbols of threats stalemated, if not checkmated, by the forces of right and justice. Typically, a preamble (which does not pretend to be more than symbolic, even in legal theory) includes strong assurances that the public or the public interest will be protected. And the most widely publicized regulatory provisions always include other nonoperational standards connoting fairness, balance, or equity.

If one asks, on the other hand, for examples of changes in resource allocations that have been influenced substantially and directly by public policy, it quickly appears that the outstanding examples have been publicized relatively little. One thinks of such legislation as the silver purchase provisions; the court definitions of the word "lawful" in the Clayton Act's labor sections; the procedural provisions of Taft-Hartley and the Railway Labor Act; the severe postwar cuts in Grazing Service appropriations; and changes in the parity formula requiring that such items as interest, taxes, freight rates and wages be included as components of the index of prices paid by farmers.

Illuminating descriptions of the operational meaning of statutory mandates are found in Truman's study and in Earl Latham's *The Group Basis of Politics*.[11] Both emphasize the importance of contending groups and organizations in day-to-day decision-making as the dynamic element in policy formation; and both distinguish this element from statutory language as such.[12]

We are only beginning to get some serious studies of the familiarity of voters with current public issues and of the intensity of their feelings about issues; but successful political professionals have evidently long acted on the assumption that there is in fact relatively little familiarity, that expressions of deep concern are rare, that quiescence is common, and that, in general, the congressman can count upon stereotyped reactions rather than persistent, organized pursuit of material interests on the part of most constituents.[13]

(4) Policies severely denying resources to large numbers of people can be pursued indefinitely without serious controversy.

The silver purchase policy, the farm policy, and a great many other subsidies are obvious examples. The anti-trust laws, utility regulations, and other statutes ostensibly intended to protect the small operator or the consumer are less obvious examples; though there is ample evidence, some of it cited below, that these usually support the proposition as well.

The federal income tax law offers a rather neat example of the divergence between a widely publicized symbol and actual resource allocation patterns. The historic constitutional struggle leading up to the Sixteenth Amendment, the warm defenses of the principle of ability to pay, and the frequent attacks upon the principle through such widely discussed proposals as that for a 25 per cent limit on rates have made the federal tax law a major symbol of justice. While the fervent rhetoric from both sides turns upon the symbol of a progressive tax and bolsters the assumption that the system is highly progressive, the bite of the law into people's resources depends upon quite other provisions and activities that are little publicized and that often seriously qualify its progressive character. Special tax treatments arise from such devices as family partnerships, gifts *inter vivos*, income-splitting, multiple trusts, percentage depletion, and deferred compensation.

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[11] Truman, *op. cit.*, pp. 439–446; Earl Latham, *The Group Basis of Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), ch. 1.

[12] The writer has explored this effect in labor legislation in "Interest Representation and Labor Law Administration," *Labor Law Journal*, Vol. 9 (1958), pp. 218–226.

[13] Evidence for these propositions is contained in the writer's study of congressional representation, still not completed or published. See also Lewis A. Dexter, "Candidates Must Make the Issues and Give Them Meaning," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 10 (1955–56), pp. 408–414.

Tax evasion alone goes far toward making the symbol of "ability to pay" hollow semantically though potent symbolically. While 95 per cent of income from wages and salaries is taxed as provided by law, taxes are actually collected on only 67 per cent of taxable income from interest, dividends, and fiduciary investments and on only about 36 per cent of taxable farm income.[14] By and large, the recipients of larger incomes can most easily benefit from exemptions, avoidances and evasions. This may be desirable public policy, but it certainly marks a disparity between symbol and effect upon resources.

II

These phenomena are significant for the study of the political process for two reasons. First, there is a substantial degree of consistency in the group interest patterns associated with policies on highly diverse subject matters. Second, they suggest that nonrational reaction to symbols among people sharing a common governmental interest is a key element in the process. The disciplines of sociology, social psychology, and semantics have produced some pertinent data on the second point; and to some of this material we turn next.

Harold Lasswell wrote three decades ago that "[P]olitics is the process by which the irrational bases of society are brought out into the open." He marshalled some support in case studies for several propositions that have since been confirmed with richer and more direct experimental evidence. "The rational and dialectical phases of politics," he said, "are subsidiary to the process of redefining an emotional consensus." He argued that "widespread and disturbing changes in the life-situa tion of many members of society" produc adjustment problems which are resolved largel through symbolization; and he suggested tha "[P]olitical demands probably bear but limited relevance to social needs."[15]

The frame of reference suggested by thes statements is sometimes accepted by politica scientists today when they study voting be havior and when they analyze the legislativ process. Its bearing on policy formation in th administrative process is not so widely recog nized. It is true that cognition and rationalit are central to administrative procedures to degree not true of legislation or voting. Bu this is not at all the same thing as saying tha administrative policies or administrative pol tics are necessarily insulated from the "proces of redefining an emotional consensus."

Let us consider now some experimental finc ings and conclusions specifying condition under which groups or personality types ar prone to respond strongly to symbolic appeal and to distort or ignore reality in a fashion tha can be politically significant.

(1) People read their own meanings int situations that are unclear or provocative c emotion. As phrased by Fensterheim, "Th less well defined the stimulus situation, or th more emotionally laden, the greater will be th contribution of the perceiver."[16] This propos tion is no longer doubted by psychologists. It i the justification for so-called projective tech niques and is supported by a great deal of ex perimental evidence.

Now it is precisely in emotionally laden an poorly defined situations that the most widel and loudly publicized public regulatory policies are launched and administered. If, as we have every reason to suppose, there is little cognitive familiarity with issues, the "interest" of most of the public is likely to be a function of other socio-psychological factors. What these other factors are is suggested by certain additional findings.

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[14] Randolph E. Paul, "Erosion of the Tax Base and Rate Structure," in Joint Committee on the Economic Report, *Federal Tax Policy for Economic Growth and Stability*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., 1955, pp. 123–138.

[15] *Psychopathology and Politics* (Chicago: Un versity of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 184, 185.

[16] Herbert Fensterheim, "The Influence c Value Systems on the Perception of People, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vo 48 (1953), p. 93. Fensterheim cites the followin studies in support of the proposition: D. Krec and R. S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems* *Social Psychology* (New York, 1948); A. S Luchins, "An Evaluation of Some Current Criti cisms of Gestalt Psychological Work on Percep tion," *Psychological Review*, Vol. 58 (1951), pp 69–95; J. S. Bruner, "One Kind of Perception: Reply to Professor Luchins," *Psychological Re view*, Vol. 58 (1951), pp. 306–312; and the chap ters by Bruner, Frenkel-Brunswik, and Klein i R. R. Blake and G. V. Ramsey, *Perception: A Approach to Personality* (New York, 1951). Se also Charles Osgood, Percy Tannenbaum an George Suci, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Ur bana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

(2) It is characteristic of large numbers of people in our society that they see and think in terms of stereotypes, personalization, and over-simplifications; that they cannot recognize or tolerate ambiguous and complex situations; and that they accordingly respond chiefly to symbols that over-simplify and distort. This form of behavior (together with other characteristics less relevant to the political process) is especially likely to occur where there is insecurity occasioned by failure to adjust to real or perceived problems.[17] Frenkel-Brunswik has noted that "such objective factors as economic conditions" may contribute to the appearance of the syndrome, and hence to its importance as a widespread group phenomenon attending the formulation of public policy.[18] Such behavior is sufficiently persistent and widespread to be politically significant only when there is social reinforcement of faith in the symbol. When insecurity is individual, without communication and reinforcement from others, there is little correlation with ethnocentricity or its characteristics.[19]

A different kind of study suggests the extent to which reality can become irrelevant for persons very strongly committed to an emotion-satisfying symbol. Festinger and his associates, as participant-observers, studied a group of fifteen persons who were persuaded that the world would come to an end on a particular day in 1956 and that they as believers would be carried away in a flying saucer. With few exceptions the participants refused to give up their belief even after the appointed day had passed. The Festinger study concludes that commitment to a belief is likely to be strengthened and reaffirmed in the face of clear disproof of its validity where there is a strong prior commitment (many of the individuals involved had actually given away their worldly goods) and where there is continuing social support of the commitment by others (two members who lost faith lived in environments in which they had no further contact with fellow-members of the group; those who retained their faith had continued to see each other). What we know of previous messianic movements of this sort supports this hypothesis.[20]

(3) Emotional commitment to a symbol is associated with contentment and quiescence regarding problems that would otherwise arouse concern.

It is a striking fact that this effect has been noticed and stressed by careful observers in a number of disparate fields, using quite different data and methods. Adorno reports it as an important finding of the *Authoritarian Personality* study:

> Since political and economic events make themselves felt apparently down to the most private and intimate realms of the individual, there is reliance upon stereotype and similar avoidances of reality to alleviate psychologically the feeling of anxiety and uncertainty and provide the individual with the illusion of some kind of intellectual security.[21]

In addition to the support it gets from psychological experiment, the phenomenon has been remarked by scholars in the fields of semantics, organizational theory, and political science. Albert Salomon points out that "Manipulation of social images makes it possible for members of society to believe that they live not in a jungle, but in a well organized and good society."[22] Harold Lasswell put it as follows:

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[17] Among the leading general and experimental studies dealing with the phenomenon are: M. Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. 43 (1948), pp. 259–277; R. R. Canning and J. M. Baker, "Effect of the Group on Authoritarian and Non-authoritarian Persons," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 64 (1959), pp. 579–581; A. H. Maslow, "The Authoritarian Character Structure," *Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. 18 (1943), p. 403; T. W. Adorno and others, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, 1950); Gerhart Saenger, *The Psychology of Prejudice* (New York, 1953), pp. 123–138; Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York, 1941); R. K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (New York, 1950).

[18] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Interaction of Psychological and Sociological Factors in Political Behavior," this REVIEW, Vol. 46 (1952), pp. 44–65.

[19] Adorno, *op. cit.*

[20] Leon Festinger, Henry Riecken, and Stanley Shachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956).

[21] Adorno, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

[22] Albert Salomon, "Symbols and Images in the Constitution of Society," in L. Bryson, L. Finkelstein, H. Hoagland and R. M. MacIver (eds.), *Symbols and Society* (New York, 1955), p. 110.

> It should not be hastily assumed that because a particular set of controversies passes out of the public mind that the implied problems were solved in any fundamental sense Quite often a solution is a magical solution which changes nothing in the conditions affecting the tension level of the community, and which merely permits the community to distract its attention to another set of equally irrelevant symbols. The number of statutes which pass the legislature or the number of decrees which are handed down by the executive, but which change nothing in the permanent practices of society, is a rough index of the role of magic in politics. . . . Political symbolization has its catharsis function. . . .[23]

Chester Barnard, an uncommonly astute analyst of his own long experience as an executive, concluded that:

> Neither authority nor cooperative disposition . . . will stand much overt division on formal issues in the present stage of human development. Most laws, executive orders, decisions, etc., are in effect formal notice that all is well—there is agreement, authority is not questioned.[24]

Charles Morris, a leading logician and student of semantics, has analyzed the role of language in shaping social behavior and inculcating satisfaction with existing power relationships. He points to the possibility that exploited groups will "actively resist changes in the very sign structure by which they are exploited." Defining such behavior as "socially pathic," he makes the following comment:

> The signs in question may relieve certain anxieties in the members of society with respect to the social behavior in which they are engaged, and so be cherished for this satisfaction even though the signs hinder or even make impossible the actual realization of the goals of such social behavior itself.[25]

Kenneth Burke makes much the same point. Designating political rhetoric as "secular prayer," he declares that its function is "to sharpen up the pointless and blunt the too sharply pointed."[26] Elsewhere, he points out that laws themselves serve this function, alleging that positive law is *itself* "the test of a judgment's judiciousness."[27]

(4) An active demand for increased economic resources or fewer political restrictions on action is not always operative. It is, rather, a function of comparison and contrast with reference groups, usually those not far removed in socio-economic status.

This is, of course, one of the most firmly established propositions about social dynamics; one that has been supported by macro-sociological analysis,[28] by psychological experiment,[29] and by observation of the political process, particularly through contrast between politically quiescent and protest or revolutionary activity.[30]

The proposition helps explain failure to demand additional resources where such behavior is socially sanctioned and supported. It also helps explain the insatiability of the demand by some organized groups for additional resources (*i.e.*, the absence of quiescence) where there is competition for such resources among rival organizations and where it is acquisitiveness that is socially supported.

(5) The phenomena discussed above (the supplying of meaning in vague situations, stereotypes, oversimplification, political quiescence) are in large measure associated with social, economic, or cultural factors affecting large segments of the population. They acquire political meaning as group phenomena.

Even among the psychologists, some of whom have at times been notably insensitive to socialization and environment as explanations and phases of the individual "traits" they claim to "identify" or "isolate," there are impressive experimental findings to support the proposition. In analyzing the interview material of his *Authoritarian Personality* study, Adorno concluded that "our general cultural climate" is basic in political ideology and in stereotyped political thinking; and he catalogued some standardizing aspects of that climate.[31] His finding, quoted above, regarding the relation of symbols to quiescence is also phrased to emphasize its social character. Lindesmith and Strauss make a similar point, emphasizing the association between symbols and the reference groups to which people adhere.[32]

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[23] Lasswell, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[24] Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 226.

[25] Charles Morris, *Signs, Language and Behavior* (New York, 1946), pp. 210–211.

[26] Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (New York, 1945), p. 393.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 362.

[28] Mead, *op. cit.;* Ernst Cassirer. *An Essay on Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944).

[29] See James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York, 1958), pp. 65–81, and studies cited there.

[30] See, *e.g.*, Murray Edelman, "Causes of Fluctuations in Popular Support for the Italian Communist Party since 1946," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 20 (1958), pp. 547–550; Arthur M. Ross, *Trade Union Wage Policy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948).

[31] Adorno, *op. cit.*, p. 655.

Another type of research has demonstrated that because interests are typically bound up with people's social situation, attitudes are not typically changed by *ex parte* appeals. The function of propaganda is rather to activate socially rooted interests. One empirical study which arrives at this conclusion sums up the thesis as follows:

> Political writers have the task of providing "rational" men with good and acceptable reasons to dress up the choice which is more effectively determined by underlying social affiliations.[33]

George Herbert Mead makes the fundamental point thst symbolization itself has no meaning apart from social activity: "Symbolization constitutes objects . . . which would not exist except for the context of social relationships wherein symbolization occurs."[34]

III

These studies offer a basis for understanding more clearly what it is that different types of groups expect from government and under what circumstances they are likely to be satisfied or restive about what is forthcoming. Two broad patterns of group interest activity *vis-à-vis* public regulatory policy are evidently identifiable on the basis of these various modes of observing the social scene. The two patterns may be summarized in the following shorthand fashion:

(1) Pattern A: a relatively high degree of organization—rational, cognitive procedures—precise information—an effective interest in specifically identified, tangible resources—a favorably perceived strategic position with respect to reference groups—relatively small numbers.

(2) Pattern B: shared interest in improvement of status through protest activity—an unfavorably perceived strategic position with respect to reference groups—distorted, stereotyped, inexact information and perception—response to symbols connoting suppression of threats—relative ineffectiveness in securing tangible resources through political activity—little organization for purposeful action—quiescence—relatively large numbers.

It is very likely misleading to assume that some of these observations can be regarded as causes or consequences of others. That they often occur together is both a more accurate observation and more significant. It is also evident that each of the patterns is realized in different degrees at different times.

While political scientists and students of organizational theory have gone far toward a sophisticated description and analysis of Pattern A, there is far less agreement and precision in describing and analyzing Pattern B and in explaining how it intermeshes with Pattern A.

The most common explanation of the relative inability of large numbers of people to realize their economic aspirations in public policy is in terms of invisibility. The explanation is usually implicit rather than explicit, but it evidently assumes that public regulatory policy facilitating the exploitation of resources by knowledgeable organized groups (usually the "regulated") at the expense of taxpayers, consumers, or other unorganized groups is possible only because the latter do not know it is happening. What is invisible to them does not arouse interest or political sanctions.

On a superficial level of explanation this assumption is no doubt valid. But it is an example of the danger to the social scientist of failure to inquire transactionally: of assuming, in this instance, (1) that an answer to a questioner, or a questionnaire, about what an individual "knows" of a regulatory policy at any point in time is in any sense equivalent to specification of a group political interest; and (2) that the sum of many individual knowings (or not-knowings) as reported to a questioner is a *cause* of effective (or ineffective) organization, rather than a consequence of it, or simply a concomitant phase of the same environment. If one is interested in policy formation, what count are the assumptions of legislators and administrators about the determinants of future political disaffection and political sanctions. Observable political behavior, as well as psychological findings, reveals something of these assumptions.

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[32] Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1956), pp. 253–255. For a report of another psychological experiment demonstrating that attitudes are a function of group norms, see I. Sarnoff, D. Katz, and C. McClintock, "Attitude-Change Procedures and Motivating Patterns," in Daniel Katz and others (eds.), *Public Opinion and Propaganda* (New York, 1954), pp. 308–9; also Festinger *et al., op. cit.*

[33] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York, 1944). p. 83. For an account of an experiment reaching the same conclusion see S. M. Lipset, "Opinion Formation in a Crisis Situation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 17 (1953), pp. 20–46.

[34] Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

There is, in fact, persuasive evidence of the reality of a political interest, defined in this way, in continuing assurances of protection against economic forces understood as powerful and threatening. The most relevant evidence lies in the continuing utility of old political issues in campaigns. Monopoly and economic concentration, anti-trust policy, public utility regulation, banking controls, and curbs on management and labor are themes that party professionals regard as good for votes in one campaign after another, and doubtless with good reason. They know that these are areas in which concern is easily stirred. In evaluating allegations that the public has lost "interest" in these policies the politician has only to ask himself how much apathy would remain if an effort were made formally to repeal the anti-trust, public utility, banking, or labor laws. The answers and the point become clear at once.

The laws may be repealed in effect by administrative policy, budgetary starvation, or other little publicized means; but the laws as symbols must stand because they satisfy interests that are very strong indeed: interests that politicians fear will be expressed actively if a large number of voters are led to believe that their shield against a threat has been removed.

More than that, it is only as symbols of this sort that these statutes have utility to most of the voters. If they function as reassurances that threats in the economic environment are under control, their indirect effect is to permit greater exploitation of tangible resources by the organized groups concerned than would be possible if the legal symbols were absent. Those who are deprived become defenders of the very system of law which permits the exploiters of resources to act effectively.

To say this is not to assume that everyone objectively affected by a policy is simply quiescent rather than apathetic or even completely unaware of the issue. It is to say that those who are potentially able and willing to apply political sanctions constitute the politically significant group. It is to suggest as well that incumbent or aspiring congressmen are less concerned with individual constituents' familiarity or unfamiliarity with an issue as of any given moment than with the possibility that the interest of a substantial number of them *could* be aroused and organized if he should cast a potentially unpopular vote on a bill or if a change in their economic situations should occur. The shrewder and more effective politicians probably appreciate intuitively the validity of the psychological finding noted earlier: that where public understanding is vague and information rare, interests in reassurance will be all the more potent and all the more susceptible to manipulation by political symbols.

The groups that succeed in using official agencies as instrumentalities to gain the resources they want are invariably organized so as to procure and analyze pertinent information and then act rationally. Most voters affected by the regulatory policy are certain on the other hand to secure distorted information, inadequate for intelligent planning of tactics or strategy.

We have already noted that it is one of the demonstrable functions of symbolization that it induces a feeling of well-being: the resolution of tension. Not only is this a major function of widely publicized regulatory statutes, but it is also a major function of their administration. Some of the most widely publicized administrative activities can most confidently be expected to convey a misleading sense of well-being to the onlooker because they suggest vigorous activity while in fact signifying inactivity or protection of the "regulated."

One form this phenomenon takes is noisy attacks on trivia. The Federal Trade Commission, for example, has long been noted for its hit-and-miss attacks on many relatively small firms involved in deceptive advertising or unfair trade practices while it continues to overlook much of the really significant activity it is ostensibly established to regulate: monopoly, interlocking directorates, and so on.[35]

Another form it takes is prolonged, repeated, well-publicized attention to a significant problem which is never solved. An excellent example is the approach of the FCC to surveillance of program content in general and to discussions of public issues on the air in particular. In the postwar period we have had the Blue Book, the Mayflower Policy, the abolition of the Mayflower Policy, and the announcement of a substitute policy; but the radio or television licensee is in practice perfectly free, as he has been all along, to editorialize, with or without opportunity for opposing views to be heard, or to eschew serious discussion of public affairs entirely.

The most obvious kinds of dissemination of symbolic satisfactions are to be found in administrative dicta accompanying decisions and orders, in press releases, and in annual reports. It is as common here as in labor arbitration to "give the rhetoric to one side and the decision to the other." Nowhere does the FCC wax so emphatic in emphasizing public service responsibility, for example, as in decisions permitting greater concentration of control in an area, condoning license transfers at inflated prices, refusing to impose sanctions for flagrantly sacrificing program quality to profits, and so on.[36]

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[35] *Cf.* Wilcox, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 252–255.

The integral connection is apparent between symbolic satisfaction of the disorganized, on the one hand, and the success of the organized, on the other, in using governmental instrumentalities as aids in securing the tangible resources they claim.

Public policy may usefully be understood as the resultant of the interplay among groups.[37] But the political and socio-psychological processes discussed here mean that groups which would otherwise present claims upon resources may be rendered quiescent instead by their success in securing nontangible values. Far from representing an obstacle to organized producers and sellers, they become defenders of the very system of law which permits the organized to pursue their interests effectively, at the expense of the disorganized or unorganized.

Thurman Arnold has pointed out how the anti-trust laws perform precisely this function:

> The actual result of the antitrust laws was to promote the growth of great industrial organizations by deflecting the attack on them into purely moral and ceremonial channels . . . every scheme for direct control broke to pieces on the great protective rock of the antitrust laws. . . .
>
> The antitrust laws remained as a most important symbol. Whenever anyone demanded practical regulation, they formed an effective moral obstacle, since all the liberals would answer with a demand that the antitrust laws be enforced. Men like Senator Borah founded political careers on the continuance of such crusades, which were entirely futile but enormously picturesque, and which paid big dividends in terms of personal prestige.[38]

Arnold's subsequent career as Chief of the Anti-trust Division of the Department of Justice did as much to prove his point as his writings. For a five-year period he instilled unprecedented vigor into the Division, and his efforts were widely publicized. He thereby unquestionably made the laws a more important symbol of the protection of the public; but despite his impressive intentions and talents, monopoly, concentration of capital, and restraint of trade were not seriously threatened or affected.

This is not to suggest that signs or symbols in themselves have any magical force as narcotics. They are, rather, the only means by which groups not in a position to analyze a complex situation rationally may adjust themselves to it, through stereotypization, oversimplification, and reassurance.

There have, of course, been many instances of effective administration and enforcement of regulatory statutes. In each such instance it will be found that organized groups have had an informed interest in effective administration. Sometimes the existence of these groups is explicable as a holdover from the campaign for legislative enactment of the basic statute; and often the initial administrative appointees are informed, dedicated adherents of these interests. They are thus in a position to secure pertinent data and to act strategically, helping furnish "organization" to the groups they represent. Sometimes the resources involved are such that there is organization on both sides; or the more effective organization may be on the "reform" side. The securities exchange legislation is an illuminating example, for after Richard Whitney's conviction for embezzlement key officials of the New York Stock Exchange recognized their own interest in supporting controls over less scrupulous elements. This interest configuration doubtless explains the relative popularity of the SEC both with regulated groups and with organized liberal groups.

IV

The evidence considered here suggests that we can make an encouraging start toward defining the conditions in which myth and symbolic reassurance become key elements in the governmental process. The conditions[39] are present in substantial degree in many policy areas other than business regulation. They may well be maximal in the foreign policy area, and a similar approach to the study of foreign policy formation would doubtless be revealing.

Because the requisite conditions are always present in some degree, every instance of policy formulation involves a "mix" of symbolic effect and rational reflection of interests in resources, though one or the other phenomenon may be dominant in any particular case. One type of mix is exemplified by such governmental programs outside the business regulation field as public education and social security. There can be no doubt that these programs do confer important tangible benefits upon a very wide public, very much as they promise to do. They do so for the reasons suggested earlier. Business organizations, labor organizations, teachers' organizations, and other organized groups benefit from these programs and have historically served to focus public attention upon the resources to be gained or lost. Their task has been all the easier because the techniques for achieving the benefits are fairly readily recognizable.

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[36] Many examples may be found in the writer's study entitled *The Licensing of Radio Services in the United States, 1927 to 1947* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950).

[37] For discussions of the utility of this view to social scientists, see Arthur F. Bentley, *The Process of Government* (1908; New York: The Principia Press, reprint 1949); Truman, *op. cit.* But *cf.* Stanley Rothman, "Systematic Political Theory," this REVIEW, Vol. 54, pp. 15–33 (March, 1960).

[38] *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 212, 215, 216.

[39] They are listed above under "Pattern B."

But the financing of these same programs involves public policies of a different order. Here the symbol of "free" education and other benefits, the complexity of the revenue and administrative structure, and the absence of organization have facilitated the emergence of highly regressive payroll, property, and head taxes as the major sources of revenue. Thus, business organizations, which by and large support the public schools that provide their trained personnel and the social security programs that minimize the costs of industrial pensions, pay relatively little for these services; while the direct beneficiaries of the "free" programs pay a relatively high proportion of the costs. Careful analysis of the "mix" in particular programs should prove illuminating.

If the conditions facilitating symbolic reassurance are correctly specified, there is reason to question some common assumptions about strategic variables in policy formulation and reason also to devise some more imaginative models in designing research in this area. The theory discussed here suggests, for example, a tie between the emergence of conditions promoting interests in symbolic reassurance and widened freedom of policy maneuver for those attempting to assert leadership over the affected group. It implies that the number of adherents of a political interest may have more to do with whether the political benefit offered is tangible or symbolic than with the quantity or quality of tangible resources allocated. It suggests that the factors that explain voting behavior can be quite different from the factors that explain resource allocations through government. The fact that large numbers of people are objectively affected by a governmental program may actually serve in some contexts to weaken their capacity to exert a political claim upon tangible values.

A number of recent writers, to take another example, have suggested that it is the "independence" of the independent regulatory commissions which chiefly accounts for their tendency to become tools of the groups they regulate. The hypotheses suggested here apply to regulatory programs administered in cabinet departments as well; and their operation is discernible in some of these programs when the specified conditions are present. The Grazing Service and the Anti-trust Division are examples.

In terms of research design, the implications of the analysis probably lie chiefly in the direction of emphasizing an integral tie of political behavior to underlying and extensive social interaction. Analysts of political dynamics must have a theory of relevance; but the directly relevant may run farther afield than has sometimes been assumed. Political activities of all kinds require the most exhaustive scrutiny to ascertain whether their chief function is symbolic or substantive. The "what" of Lasswell's famous definition of politics is a complex universe in itself.

ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT

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However careful one ought to be not to indulge in exaggerated conceptualism—an approach which easily degenerates into mere terminological exercise—a number of political terms in constant use have meanings which call for clarification. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to two such terms: election and appointment. We use them regularly in teaching, observation and summing-up of institutions as if they were antonyms, without really bothering to determine wherein the supposed antithesis lies. Of course, neither term denotes an *a priori* category; both are names for historically evolved procedures, with many variations resulting from attempts to adjust them to preconceived ideas or to environmental factors. But even with full allowance for these variations, and with due regard for every-day common usage, certain discrepancies remain in our use of them which make for unclear thinking.

I

To give a few instances: a chairman of a company (in the United States, the chairman of the board) is "elected" by the board's members. The same group of persons, sitting in the same capacity, may go through exactly the same motions when selecting a branch manager, and yet we think of him as "appointed." And is the company's managing director (in American parlance, the corporation president) "appointed" or "elected"? Or to turn to the field which is nearer to reader and writer alike, the field of assigning people to functions of a public, more particularly of a political, nature: is a cabinet in France under the fourth Republic or in Israel "elected" because it does not assume its functions unless and until the legislature has confirmed it by vote? Is a non-political public office to be considered "elective," if the assignment of the office-holder is made in the final count by a group of persons deciding by unanimous concurrence or by vote? No one will question this statement in the case of judges elected by popular vote; but what about certain judges as well as the General commanding-in-chief in Switzerland, who are "elected" by the Swiss Federal Assembly? And what about civil servants or holders of other public offices whose selection was decided upon, in whole or in part, by a selection board or by some similar collective group? Somehow we think of such office-holders as appointive, despite the procedure of election which took place in their cases.

Does "election" connote the added condition that the selectee be a member of the selecting group, while "appointment" refers to a procedure in which the selectee has no voice? Neither the President of the Swiss Federal Council nor the Commanding General, to both of whom the Swiss Constitution refers as "elected" by the Federal Assembly, are members of that body. Nor is the candidate for the presidency of the United States usually a member of the electoral college.

Is it a limited term of office that distinguishes election from appointment? The German "electors" chose a King and Emperor (incidentally, one who was not necessarily a member of the college) for an unlimited period. And though election for life is infrequent nowadays, indefinite tenure is certainly not yet a characteristic of appointment.

It is sometimes felt that appointment denotes selection *from above, i.e.*, a procedure implying subordination of the selectee to the selector, while election is *from below, i.e.*, a procedure connoting subordination of the selector to the selectee. Apart from the fact that hierarchical relations are by no means uni-directional but are often mixed and reciprocal,[1] such a definition would fly in the face of accepted general usage: presidents in parliamentary republics are often elected by legislatures, but can hardly be held, on balance, "superior" to the latter, except in a purely ceremonial sense. The Swiss general is not "superior" to the Federal Assembly; and the hierarchical relationship between a judge and various individuals or public bodies, whatever it may be, is not necessarily affected by his having been either "elected" or "appointed." At most one might say that the elected holder of a function does not become the subordinate of the individual who has participated as a voter in the election procedure but, on the contrary, often assumes a certain authority over the latter's conduct; whereas in the case of appointment, it is the appointing individual who keeps as a rule a certain authority over the appointee. But upon closer examination, this formulation, too, will not hold: not only would it be inapplicable to judicial and quasi-judicial positions, but, upon analysis, it is only the "authority" or "organ" personified in the individual that usually wields power over the appointee. Otherwise, and in his private capacity, the "appointer" may be as much subject to the appointee's authority, as is often the voter to the authority of the electee. The minister or high-ranking official who has appointed a policeman, a customs officer or an internal revenue agent, is certainly subject to the appointee's authority, when it comes to obeying traffic or customs or tax laws.

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[1] Thus A. Merkl, *Allgemeines Verwaltungsrecht* (1927), p. 308 ff; and K. Braunias, *Das Parlamentarische Wahlrecht*, 1932, II, pp. 1–3. These two authors are about the only ones who have come seriously to grips, however briefly, with our problem. See also: H. Kelsen, *Allgemeine Staatslehre* (1925), p. 279 ff., and his *General Theory of Law and State* (1945), p. 195.

Our concern over the existing confusion in the use of the two terms will disappear, of course, if we conclude that the distinction between them has no useful significance. If the difference is only semantic, the following analysis may be dismissed as pointless. It is submitted, however, that a distinction between the two terms can be drawn that corresponds to socially and technically significant differences in the process of mutual linking of individuals and functions; that this distinction possesses special importance where public functions are concerned; and that therefore an attempt to clarify it is justified.

Common usage with reference to election and appointment is reflected by the description given in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. "Election" is defined there as "the process of selecting the officers or representatives of an organization or group by the vote of its qualified members. It is to be distinguished from the alternative methods of selection by appointment or by lot." No attempt at all is made to define "appointment"; it is merely described as being of the "essence of executive authority," and this statement, whether true or not, certainly represents no definition. Even the few instances offered above will have been enough to indicate that the approach of the *Encyclopaedia* stands in need of further scrutiny: we have encountered, indeed, some proceedings which, though "elections" within the meaning of the *Encyclopaedia*, are at times thought of as appointments; while an attempt to explain appointment by ascribing to an authority "executive" quality will certainly lead us into a vicious circle.

On the basis of the above examples, it is easy to propose and dismiss various tentative criteria of elections, among them: selection by many as against one or a few selectors; opportunity to select among more than one candidate; selection from below instead of from above; selection coupled with subordination of selectors to selectees as against subordination of selectees to selectors; a mode of selection in which the selectee's personal and character traits are emphasized rather than his expertness. Weaknesses will readily be perceived in every single one of these criteria. And yet each of them provides a promising avenue of thought and sheds some light on the technical or ideological connotations of the electoral process.

I suggest that this division into a technical and an ideological aspect is, indeed, the most promising way of approaching the problem.[2] Technically, election is the process of assigning an office or a function to an individual by an act of volition calling for the simultaneous expression of opinion by at least several persons. Conversely, appointment in its technical sense is the assignment of an office or a function to an individual by an act of volition of a single person or, eventually, by a series of consecutive acts of volition of a number of single persons.

Considered from a purely procedural standpoint, it is this distinction between an act of a plurality of persons and one emanating from a single individual (whether or not preceded or followed by other acts calling for the participation of one or several individuals) which appears decisive. If a selection board deliberates on the "appointment" of a public official, its deliberation culminates in a process which, technically speaking, is an election. This is so whether established procedure or the emergence of differing views requires a formal vote (known in British parliamentary parlance as a "division") or whether the unanimity of views coupled with informal procedure makes a formal vote superfluous, the sense of the group being registered "by acclamation" or being noted in an informal manner. Similarly, it is not directly relevant to the determination of this procedure as an election whether it represents the final and decisive stage in the assignment, or whether it is a necessary but preliminary step in the process of assignment (*e.g.*, a qualifying nomination by election for a function the later stage of which may be elective or appointive), or—finally—whether it is a mere advisory recommendation which is not binding or is not essential as a preliminary condition for further positive action. In all these cases we have what technically amounts to an election, with all the attendant problems of quorum, of voting systems, of majorities, of methods of casting votes, of equal and unequal votes, of formal nominations, etc., such as we would have encountered if the identical selection board were to elect a chairman (assuming it is given authority to do so) or a body of citizens were to elect a representative.

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[2] See: Braunias, *loc. cit.*

To avoid misunderstandings, one should again emphasize that appointment as a technical procedure does not necessarily imply the linking of a person to an office or a function by action of one individual only. It can, and often does, call for concerted action by several individuals before it is completed. But such action will proceed in several stages, each clearly distinct from the others, which will be either subsequent or simultaneous and will be grouped either hierarchically or on the basis of incomplete or complete equality. Thus—if an official is to be appointed by the Minister on the advice of a permanent secretary, with the latter acting on the recommendation of a division chief who, in his turn, acts on the basis of an examiner's findings—we have before us the selection of an official by concerted action of several individuals; however, this concerted action is divided into stages, each linked to a single individual, with the sequence between them being both temporal and hierarchical. The technique typical of appointment appears in this instance not only in the final and determining action-stage, but also in each of the preliminary stages. Considered in itself, each of them is, technically speaking, an appointment-like procedure, albeit not necessarily a complete one. The diverse screenings, recommendations, and nominations, which we encounter on the way toward the final act—however much they may vary on the score of their "objectivity" or "subjectivity," of the latitude of discretion given to the screener, recommender, examiner or nominator as against previously set rules that may limit this discretion almost to the vanishing point—have this in common that none of them proceeds by the technique of election.

Then, again, appointment may call for concerted action of the joint rather than of the hierarchical type. If an official is to be appointed by consultation or agreement between two or more persons, the relationship between them is coordinate rather than hierarchical, and no required time-sequence between their respective actions will perhaps be specified. And yet the completion of the appointment calls for an individual act on the part of each participant in the joint or consultative process. However, in this joint-appointment procedure, especially where the positive consent of each participant is necessary, we approach a marginal case; just as in the procedure requiring *unanimous* election we find ourselves on the margin of election. In both cases, the individual action of approving the assignment of an office or function to a person is so closely connected with the parallel action of one or more other individuals that the purely technical difference between election and appointment tends to disappear.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that some of the preliminary stages of an appointment partake of the characteristics of an election, just as the preliminary stages of an election may be appointive in character. The former combination occurs, *e.g.*, when a board of examiners, or a selection board collectively decides, sometimes even by vote, to recommend, or to nominate, or to certify as qualified, a candidate, to the appointing authority. The latter combination results when a person or a number of persons, acting each in an individual capacity, signify their approval of the candidate in question as a preliminary to the act of selection by a collective body. A certain confusion may follow if the completion of the selection procedure is not properly or not uniformly defined, *e.g.*, the appointment of certain federal office-holders by the President of the United States subject to approval (*i.e.*, election) by the Senate. It is not always clear, and not uniformly determined for each and all purposes, which of the two acts makes the linking of the candidate with the office complete.

The preceding remarks suffice to establish two points:

(a) The techniques of election and appointment are not necessarily separated with reference to the assignment of a function to an individual. Assignment is a process which often takes place in several stages, and of these various stages some may exhibit the characteristics of elections, others of appointment. When we speak of an office as "elective" or "appointive" in the technical sense, we go by the character of either the predominant or the final stage; but this should not blind us to the presence of heterogeneous elements at other stages.

(b) Terms habitually used to signify a specific stage in the linking of a person to a function, such as "approval" or "consent", or "nomination", do not possess an established meaning with reference to the election-appointment dichotomy. Whether they come within one or another category can only be empirically determined on the basis of a detailed scrutiny of the techniques involved.

II

A different manner of using the two terms gives priority to the social significance of the process observed rather than to its technicalities. Thus viewed, election is that process of linking a person to a function which emphasizes the participation in the selection process of those meant to fall in some way under the selectee's authority.

Taken in this sense, an election gives expression to the idea of rule (using the word "rule" in the broad sense, not confined to the sphere of government, but embracing any relation which carries an element of authority) with the consent of the ruled. This is the familiar consensual approach to authority which, in its extreme form, is tantamount to democracy. The greater the opportunity offered to those under the office-holder's future authority to participate in his selection, and the greater the proportion of those falling under this description who are offered this opportunity, the nearer we come to an election in the social-significance sense and the further away we recede from appointment. Appointment, in this sense, will mean, of course, the linking of a person to a function without the participation of those affected by the authority pertaining to the function. If, therefore, one single individual selects another individual or a body to exercise a function that will connote a certain authority over himself—and this will apply even to an agent, since every agency implies authority to bind the principal within given bounds—we have before us a process of consensual setting-up of authority and therefore an election in the social-significance sense, even though, there being no plurality of selectors, all the technical paraphernalia of election are missing.

As the reader will have noticed, we use election and appointment in this second sense as trends rather than as contrasting fixed procedures. Indeed, a minimal degree of consensual participation of the ruled is observable in many a selection mode which in the main is non-consensual and which we still think of as an appointment. A person who, whether formally or informally, either by virtue of his social or political status or by virtue of his expert knowledge or by virtue of the office he holds, participates in the selection of a judge, a customs officer, a health or zoning or police officer, may himself become subject to the latter's authority; but he is only one among the future functionary's many "constituents" or "subjects," the consensual aspect is not really emphasized, and we properly speak of the selection mode in this case as constituting an appointment. More important even than the quantitative element—the *insufficient* number of the future subjects who participate in the selection process—is the difference in essence: the fact that the "appointing" individuals may come themselves under the selectee's authority is quite incidental, perhaps even accidental, to their participation in his selection. It is not *as* subjects and not *because* they will be subject to his authority that they are given this power, but because of some other quality which they are assumed to hold.

This is why quite a number of selection procedures, while elective in the technical sense, are regarded as appointments within the meaning of their social significance. They are such because, or insofar as, the castings of votes or other collective procedures are not meant to convey an application of the consensual principle. Every election that is one in the social-significance sense, is necessarily one from the point of view of technique, *except where the authority of the selectee is meant to extend to one individual only;* but the reverse is not necessarily true.

Yet a certain quantitative element enters into the electoral procedure in the social-significance sense, just as it enters into the first, technical, meaning of the term. It is equally essential in both cases, but—in keeping with the difference between them—its content changes: while, technically speaking, the concurrence of several volitions is an intrinsic part of the technique, the element of quantity, *i.e.*, the participation of a large proportion of "subordinates", contributes, in the election taken in its social-significance meaning, to its consensual character.

It is this consensual character of elections that explains their claim to achieve representativeness. Representativeness is claimed on two levels. On the one hand, the person elected is assumed to be representative of his electors. On the other hand, the qualified and actual electors are taken to be a true representation of the total mass of the selectee's subordinates, and the electoral system is supposed to allow for some reasonable mode of making such representation both possible and legitimate.

When we speak of the electee as representative of his electors, we do not generally mean that he is similar to them. Though history and literature both know of instances where this claim, inspired by extreme egalitarianism, was made, it is nevertheless true that in most instances the purpose of election is to find an individual of outstanding quality and therefore dissimilar. What is invariably meant by representativeness is the likelihood that the electee will perform the activities of his function in reasonable conformity with the electors' desires, to the extent that these are ascertainable. Election as a procedure for assigning functions is used principally in connection with functions that require a wide measure of discretion on the part of their holders. Only rarely, therefore, will we find attempts to circumscribe the electee's freedom of action by imperative mandates (in the case of legislators and the like) or by closely woven mandatory instructions that leave no room for the exercise of discretion. In the main, reliance will be placed either on conditions of the election, where freedom of information, of discussion, of access to the candidates, and of choice, are assumed to increase the chances of the electee proving representative; or on sanctions in case he proves insufficiently representative. We shall not delve here into the conditions of election. As for sanctions, the two best-known sanctions of this kind are the right of recall and the less direct but equally effective device of election for a limited term, carrying with it, as it were, the implicit threat of non-reelection. Where election is for life or, as in the case of heads of new dynasties, even beyond the life-time of the incumbent, there can be no sanction of re-election. On the other hand, recall, even if not formalized, is always present in the background and is occasionally exercised in the form of resistance, revolution or enforced resignation or abdication.

In our day and age, we are more concerned with elections for limited periods. Their representative character, even if coupled with a great deal of discretion, stands clear and is usually both effectively sanctioned and solemnly acknowledged. For holders of public office, the affirmation of its representative character is even more pronounced than its sanction in fact, the latter being often vitiated by various mechanisms permitting self-perpetuation in office.

It is elementary that not every election is democratic, even in the most elementary, quantitative sense. The limitation of actual suffrage to a small group among future subordinates is a well known phenomenon, which restricts both the consensual and the representative character of the proceedings. But with the spread of democratic thought, even a limited suffrage group is increasingly regarded as representing a wider group and, in the final analysis, the totality of the subjects. So regarded, the limited suffrage group becomes an instrument of *indirect* elections. At times, the connection between the two is formalized, as in the two- or three-stage elections in British India, or in the presidential electoral colleges in the United States and in France. At other times it is not formalized, but the representative character of the small qualified electorate, standing, as it were, for the whole community, is nevertheless taken for granted. Thus, where the Head of State is elected by the legislature and not by the entire electorate, where a party leader is elected by a small committee or a national convention and not by the members at large, where a corporation president is elected by the board and not by all stockholders—the technique used is one of direct election by a small electorate, but the social significance attaching to the process is that of a consensus given by the large group indirectly; and the electee is expected to be representative not only of the direct, but also of the indirect constituents.

If no attention is paid to consensus expressed indirectly, elections conducted by a very restricted electorate tend to lose their social significance. If the voting qualification is limited to an infinitesimal portion of the subordinate group only, and nothing but this qualification counts in estimating the element of consensus, then—from the vantage point of the mass of disfranchised subordinates—the office-holder has been selected without their participation or consensus; as far as social significance *for them* is concerned, his office becomes an appointive one. When the Head of State is elected by a few hundred legislators, when a cabinet is "confirmed"—as is required in some countries—by an initial vote of confidence by the same few hundred, we have indeed a technical election, but to the millions over whom the elected will wield authority, these officers will appear undistinguishable from appointed office-holders, since the consensus of the millions is lacking. The only way in which we can stress the consensual rather than the authoritarian character of the function, is by looking beyond the formal investiture of the functionary by a restricted "electorate" only, and remembering also that the legislature itself has been elected by a far larger electorate. Thus the legislature will become a kind of electoral college, and the Head of State or the cabinet will be regarded as having been elected indirectly.

True, this approach as well should be used with caution. By the same reasoning, any appointment made by the cabinet could be regarded as an indirect election twice removed; and an appointment made by a board set up by the cabinet would be indirect election three times removed, and so forth. Finally, should we choose to disregard the technical aspect of a collective decision made by a group of persons and consider the consensual element only, any appointment made by any minister or other one-man authority could be regarded as an indirect election *n* times removed, as long as the ultimate legitimation of that authority is based, however remotely, on an expression of the subordinates' consensus. Obviously, such a conclusion would be highly fictitious and would offer no aid at all in solving such practical problems as the respective uses of appointment, of direct or indirect election, or of a broad as against a selective electorate.

Nevertheless, the foregoing discussion has shown that, once we admit the principle of indirection, any sharp conceptual dividing line between election and appointment disappears, and there emerges instead a vast region of no-man's land with vague and blurred frontiers. We may have our choice in bringing some sort of order into the ensuing chaos in one of three ways: we may leave it at the two basic concepts of appointment and election, with an intermediate region; we may posit that all functions in a fundamentally consensual society are filled by an election-like act, with only the degree of indirectness changing; or we may, finally, take refuge in the simple technical criterion, and dismiss as irrelevant the social significance aspect. However, the large mass of public functions are ordinary cases which lie well within the generally understood spheres of election *or* appointment, rather than marginal cases. And for these ordinary cases the above discussion may have provided some theoretical clarification.

III

For the sake of completeness, a few phenomena, often connected with the processes of election and appointment, need to be briefly commented upon.

Nomination. The term covers many processes varying from one another in technique and even more in actual significance. In its widest sense, nomination is tantamount to recommendation. It may be a prerequisite for assignment to a given function, a *conditio sine qua non,* without being in itself either a formal or a real determinant for obtaining the function, a *conditio per quam.* Thus nomination of a person, or of a list under the system of proportional representation, by the prescribed number of voters, qualifies the nominees to appear on the ballot as candidates for an election, assuming that the other conditions of eligibility are also complied with. It does not, as a rule, ensure their election, either in law or in fact. Then, again, nomination may appear in the guise of a recommendation that is not at all required as a condition of the nominee's qualification or eligibility for office, but is extended for whatever encouragement or support it may portend. Thus, if a candidate who has already received the required nomination or has otherwise become fully qualified, is being "nominated" or "endorsed" by additional groups, parties, influential individuals, or newspapers. At times, such a recommendation is extended more with a view to benefit the recommendors than for the benefit of the recipient. However, there is a tendency to apply the term more narrowly to those forms of recommendation that are required as prerequisites of the nominee's formal eligibility.

Nomination can be viewed as a mere stage in the linking of a person to the intended function, or it can be considered in isolation, without regard to the larger process. Viewed as a stage in the larger process, nomination may occur as part either of an elective or of an appointive process. As a result of a qualifying examination before a selection board or a board of examiners, a person may be regarded as *nominated* for the function to which he—or other similarly qualifying candidates—may be ultimately appointed, no less than a candidate for elective office who has been formally endorsed by the required number of voters signing his filing papers or petition. Viewed in itself, the nomination may again partake of the nature of either election or appointment. It would be elective in character, from the point of view of its social significance, insofar as it emphasizes the consensual element (such as nomination by a number of voters), and appointive insofar as it conforms to a non-consensual, authoritative pattern (such as nomination by a party "boss" or a small group of notables). From the point of view of technique, nomination would be elective if it required the concurrence of several participants acting collectively, and appointive if it were the result of the volition of a single individual, or of several individuals in sequence. The nomination of a candidate for parliamentary elections by a party committee in a British, or by a caucus in an American, constituency, is an example of the first kind; the nomination of a military officer or of a civil servant for promotion or for a position of greater significance, by his immediate superior or by a succession of superiors, illustrates the second kind. Nor need the appointive or elective character of the nomination procedure coincide with the nature of the over-all process or of its final stage: even though the final linking of the individual to the function may be by way of appointment by a one-man authority, the nomination may be made by a collective body by way of election. And *vice versa,* the nomination of a candidate for elective office by the "boss" of the city machine or by a powerful newspaper publisher is an appointive process, albeit not a formalized one.

It goes without saying thst the nomination itself may be subdivided into any number of stages, possibly differing from one another in technique and social connotation. The best known and most studied instance of such multistage nominations is that of candidates for the presidency of the United States on behalf of one of the major parties; a nomination which takes the forms of one-man support by party bosses, informal decisions by powerful small groups, votes in caucuses, State conventions, popular primaries, and finally on the floor of a national convention.

If, as one extreme case, we have mentioned a nomination which, far from ensuring actual assignment, does not even constitute a formal requisite, we may take as the other extreme a nomination which is decisive for the ultimate assignment either in fact or even in law, thus relegating the post-nomination stages to mere formalities. Such situations occur in many instances which vary greatly in many respects: nomination of a candidate by the predominant party in a "safe constituency" in Britain or in a "one-party" region in the United States; nomination of a candidate by the communist party cell for any office in one of the countries of the Soviet bloc; the *de facto* limitation of the prerogative of a Head of State in a parliamentary regime to invite (*i.e.*, appoint) a politician to form a cabinet to a single person, where that person has been chosen as the leader of a party that holds a majority of seats in the legislature; these are but a few instances of this kind. Finally, where the "appointing" or "approving" authority is deprived by law or binding convention of any exercise of its own discretion, but is bound to act on the recommendation of the recommending authority, it is the latter—though formally fulfilling an act of nomination only—that accomplishes the decisive act in the process of the assignment of the function.

All in all, then, nomination is a term that should be understood as denoting a preparatory stage of varying decisiveness, but short of the final one, in the linking of a person to a function. Like the final stage itself, nomination can be either elective or appointive in both the technical sense and in the sense of its social significance, or it can fall in the intermediate zone between the two.

Freedom of Choice. It is a characteristic of the modern approach to social phenomena that the observer goes beyond the formalized institutional aspect and probes influences and relationships irrespective of their formal status. In line with this trend, recent studies of elective and appointive processes have been less concerned with formal "freedoms" and limiting qualifications, rather seeking to find out to what extent the voter, the elector in an indirect election, or the appointing authority, are really free to exercise choice within the limits of the formal qualifications; and if not, then what are the additional and informal limitations placed upon them. Having established the place of nominations as preliminary processes of an elective or appointive (or mixed) character, we may understand why the same type of investigation is increasingly being undertaken—especially by American scholars—with reference to nomination processes.

The element of choice is present at some stage in every non-automatic linking of a person to a function. Automatic or near-automatic linkings—such as those by a rigid application of heredity or seniority—are exceptions rather than the rule and need not overly concern us. Two questions are in order: (a) what are the limits of the choice or discretion involved; and (b) who and at what stage of the assignment process exercises this discretion?

These questions confront us whether we deal with election or appointment. For obvious reasons, the freedom will in neither case be unlimited. Considerations such as age, mental and physical health, police record, educational and professional background, will be generally admitted as affording reasonable limitations on the freedom of choice by the participants in the election or in the appointment. The scope of such "reasonable" limitations will vary greatly, depending either on the intrinsic requirements of the function or on extrinsic considerations arising out of the social climate. The difficulty is reached when either the formal or the informal limitations on the freedom of choice are so severe that the persons concerned are left free to choose between very few, perhaps only two, names; when their only discretion lies in approving or refusing to approve the single name they are entitled to pass upon; or—finally—when they are left without any choice at all, but are bound to proceed with their part in the process. In this last case, the act of appointment or election loses altogether its character of a discretionary act and is transformed into a mandatory duty. The persons participating in the act are condemned, in this instance, to the role of rubber-stamps.

Establishing the limits upon the freedom of choice of the appointing or electing authority is, of course, only half the task. Just as important to determine is the identity of the persons or bodies that have authority to set out these limitations by way of enacting them generally or by "screening" the candidates prior to further action. It may well be that the "limiting" or "screening" authority (which may or may not be identical with a given nominating authority) exercises an influence no less decisive, or even more decisive, than the formal appointers or electors. In fact, the limits set to the appointing authority's discretion are usually quite stringent and, as long as they conform to certain reasonable standards, tend to be accepted with a fair degree of equanimity. Indeed, there appears to be a trend to spell out qualifications for certain appointive functions, especially those of a public nature, with increasing severity, thus narrowing down the scope of the appointing authority's discretion. The increase of special examinations and of various educational requirements as prerequisites to appointive offices is a case in point. There is much more sensitivity about limitations placed on electing authorities and on the individual voters. Even so elementary a prerequisite as simple literacy is increasingly frowned on in a large number of countries.

A similar investigation should be conducted into the *informal* limitations on the appointer's and elector's discretion. Internal discipline of organized groups on the one hand, and outside pressure—whether by organized pressure groups, by individual interests, or by non-formalized action of public and semi-public bodies—on the other, are the principal instruments of such informal limitations. Outside pressure works both by the carrot and by the stick, employing indiscriminately promises and threats. It affects elections no less than appointments, and neither the mass character of modern electoral bodies nor the anonymity with which the widespread practice of the secret ballot clothes the voter provides more than an incomplete defense against it.

Mixed Procedures. We have seen earlier that the linking of a person to a function may be accomplished in several stages, some of which may be elective, others appointive. This leaves us in some difficulty when it comes to the determination of the character of the resulting assignment. We could, of course, speak of "intermediate" or "mixed" procedures and leave it at that. Still, a somewhat closer look should be attempted. Let us take the case of a presidential appointment in the United States subject to the consent of the Senate. If we disregard the informal stages (usually, recommendation by one or several persons or groups within a political party, or recommendation by the nominee's superiors) and consider the formal stages only, we find three of these: (a) nomination by the President; (b) consent by the Senate (usually given in two stages—by a committee of the Senate and by the Senate as a whole); (c) appointment by the President. Each one of these stages is a necessary prerequisite for holding office, except on the temporary basis of a recess appointment. Of the three stages, the first and the third are appointive, the second is elective. The resulting assignment is generally regarded as appointive, because the appointive elements predominate, because the office is not actually bestowed on the candidate until and unless the President appoints him—an appointment which he is still entitled to withhold despite the Senate's consent, because the power of dismissal—usually a corollary of the power of appointment—is in the President's hands, and because the "electing" body in this case is only remotely linked to those over whom the future officeholder will wield authority. For much the same reasons the assignment will still be regarded as appointive if we suppose (what may well be the case) that the President's share in the whole process was nominal, and that the actual initiative and decision was with the Senator who urged the name and saw it through.

On the other hand, we have still the phenomenon in some countries of mayors or heads of municipal councils who are elected by the councils but require confirmation by an agent of the central government before assuming their functions. Here again there is concurrence of an elective and an appointive stage in the assignment, and once more it is the appointing authority that has the last—and discretionary—word. On the whole, however, the position will be regarded as an elective one.

The point to be kept in mind is not to determine to which of the two main groups a function belongs if it results from a mixed procedure, but that where the procedures leading up to the assignment of a function are mixed, the position itself will be of a mixed character, albeit in varying proportions.

Criteria for Adopting Different Procedures. A problem that figures very prominently for those who, as political or administrative practitioners, have to recommend or to decide upon procedures for filling various functions, is that of the proper criteria for the choice of one or the other fundamental process, and of the many sub-variations existing among them. Academic interest has been aroused, by and large, by two special questions within the whole complex. Voting systems and qualifications on the one hand, and systems for the recruitment, promotion and dismissal of civil servants on the other, have been and continue to be widely discussed in the literature. Methods for the election or appointment of judges and the wisdom or otherwise of dispensing with professional legal training in the case of persons called to exercise judicial functions are also discussed to some extent. However, the whole problem of the respective implications of the elective and appointive processes, with their multiple variations, deserves to be rescued from its apparent neglect and to be gone into deeply. More especially, it would be useful to establish to what extent specific modes of election and appointment can be regarded as "fitting" for specific functions. Some feeling seems to exist, for instance, that the more an office connotes the office-holder's discretion and policy-making function, the more appropriate election will appear; while where an office connotes subordination to instructions by another authority, appointment—and, if possible, appointment at the hands of the latter—is desirable. An examination of this tenet in the light of experience is overdue.

There is also the question of the relative merits of the two procedures and their sub-variations as methods to seek out *quality* in the candidate for office. In theory, both procedures imply a search for quality; whether practice always lends support to theory, is another question. Nepotism and arbitrariness for one thing, rigid seniority for another, and party patronage for a third, can easily vitiate the search for quality in the appointing procedure; while rigid application of the list system or the predominance of party machines and sources of financial support under the majority system can play havoc with quality just as well. And is it true, as is generally believed, that the fundamental qualities which the two procedures seek for are different in kind? That election puts a premium on popularity and general trustworthiness, while appointment emphasizes specific knowledge and experience? These are all questions for further study.

Selection by Lot. Though regarded in modern times as exceptional rather than usual, selection by lot is nevertheless a third variety of non-automatic accession of a person to an office or a duty, along with the two major varieties of election and appointment. It may well be that selection by lot was based initially on the magic or metaphysical conception of a supernatural force intervening by means of the lot;[3] in later times it has lost any ritual connotation and has become a mode of consensual attribution of a public office, a mode influenced by a particularly emphatic affirmation of egalitarianism.[4] We might say therefore that selection by lot, while lacking the technical attributes of election, shares with the latter a consensual significance at least within the circle of those participating in the drawing, but frequently for a much larger number. On the other hand, this method renounces the search for quality—a necessary concomitant of its egalitarianism—whatever the criteria of quality might be. Of course, inequality and qualitative criteria may be implied in the prerequisites that qualify a person for inclusion in the drawing; but within these limits, no further inequality and no further search for quality are admitted. In this respect, selection by lot resembles heredity and differs as a matter of principle from both appointment and election.

As for a distinct hierarchical relation between the drawee-by-lot and other authorities, no definite statement can be made. Just as among electees and appointees, we find among drawees-by-lot differing degrees of untramelled discretion and of subjection to binding instructions, of sanctions and of freedom from sanction. However, very rarely will we find selection by lot used with reference to functions in which the mandatory far outweighs the discretionary aspect, the calling up of draftees into military service being perhaps the outstanding modern example.

Again, as in the cases of election and appointment, selection by lot need not represent the complete process, but may appear as a partial stage of the process only, *e. g.*, in the drawing of jurymen. In modern times, and where public office is concerned, it is almost invariably a stage and nothing more. It is used as a last resort in supplementing election, to break a tie, after all the other criteria of quality and of voters' confidence have been gauged. At that point the circle of candidates for the drawing hardly ever numbers more than two, who, having passed all preliminary and presumably qualitative tests of eligibility, have garnered an equal number of votes and sometimes are of equal age and seniority as well.

Volunteering. This method of selection need not be considered here at all, since in one form or another it is the acknowledged (and in even more cases the unacknowledged) prerequisite for most assumptions of a public—or for that matter a private—function. It occurs whenever a function is not thrust upon a person as a matter of legal duty (like jury service) or dire economic necessity. Only seldom is volunteering sufficient *per se* to ensure the individual's selection; where it is sufficient, it is nothing more than the selection of the volunteer by the appointing or electing authority in the absence of any alternative.

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[3] C. Seymour and D. R. Frary, *How the World Votes* (1918), I, p. 2.

[4] For a discussion of the egalitarian and other aspects of choice by lot see G. Glotz, *The Greek City* (1929), p. 209 ff.; and: *Histoire Grècque* (1948), II, p. 296, 305.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICS IN THE FORMER BELGIAN CONGO

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Recent developments in Belgian Africa have focussed the attention of statesmen and political scientists on one area of Central Africa which has hitherto remained relatively unexplored by English-speaking social scientists. The problems raised by nationalist assertions throughout the continent of Africa are more than a research area of purely academic interest; they also represent a compelling challenge to anyone concerned with sound policy formulation and objective evaluations. With the entrance of the Belgian Congo in the family of independent African states, the policy choices of the United States have involved and will continue to involve additional issues of great urgency and complexity.

Other reasons may be invoked for conducting a systematic survey of source material on the social, economic and political aspects of the Congo area. For one thing, the historical experiences and colonial heritage shared by native populations suggest that the intensity of their claims and the choice of their objectives will continue to reflect the impact of a distinctive type of colonial administration. For another, long-range problems of political viability must be viewed against the background of traditional authority systems, whether or not their distribution is coterminous with the geographical boundaries of the area under consideration. Finally, the central position occupied by the Belgian Congo on the map of Africa suggests that the political changes occurring in that area are likely to affect neighbouring territories in a far more decisive manner than those taking place on the periphery of the African continent.

As one attempts to judge critically the contributions made by Belgian scholars toward a better understanding of African political phenomena one cannot fail to be impressed by the magnitude of the efforts and the unevenness of the results. This is partly due to the highly legalistic treatment given to various subject matters, and partly to the fact that available studies almost inevitably reflect the official constraints on their authors. Another explanatory factor lies in the absence of focus discernible in the study of traditional societies: frequently the negative and seemingly reprehensible traits of native societies are highlighted while the more positive aspects are deliberately de-emphasized. Finally, the paternalistic assumptions underlying Belgian administrative policies have had definite repercussions on the scope and orientation of official or semi-official research endeavours: by and large the vast field of economic and social development has received a particularly strong emphasis at the expense of other politically relevant research areas.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A number of valuable bibliographical articles have already appeared in this REVIEW containing specific and general source material relevant to the study of political developments in other parts of Africa tangential to Belgian Congo. The most notable are Roland Young and J. Gus Liebenow, Jr., "Survey of background material for the study of the governments of East Africa," in Vol. 48 (March 1954) pp. 187–208; James S. Coleman, "A survey of selected literature on the governments and politics of British West Africa," in Vol. 49 (December 1955) pp. 1130–1150; and Kenneth Robinson, "A survey of the background material for the study of government in French Tropical Africa," in Vol. 50 (March 1956) pp. 179–198. Among the most useful of general compilations, *A Bibliography of African Bibliographies* (Capetown, 1948) offers an easy guide to early documentary sources through a system of classification by territories and subject matters. A substantial bibliography will be found in Raymond L. Buell's classic, *The Native Problem in Africa*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928) pp. 1038–1044, especially valuable for the early period of colonial administration, including that of the Congo Free State, and the abundant references to French, Belgian, and German documents. By far the most comprehensive and recent of available bibliographies on the Congo is T. Heyse's masterful *Bibliographie du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, 1939–51*, in *Cahiers Belges et Congolais*, Nos. 4 to 22 (Bruxelles, 1953), which provides one of the most extensive coverages of books and articles dealing with social, economic and political developments. One of the earliest and still useful bibliographies is A. J. Wauters, *Bibliographie du Congo, 1880–85* (Bruxelles, 1895). It contains valuable references on the role of Catholic and Protestant missions as well as on the diplomatic history and politics of the Congo Free State. A survey of the bibliographical research on colonial problems conducted between 1876 and 1933 will be found in T. Heyse, "Le travail bibliographique colonial belge de 1876 à 1933," *Zaire* (Juin 1948), pp. 639–656. Among the more specialized bibliographies, Jean Berlage's *Répertoire de la Presse du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi* (Bruxelles, 1955) deserves special mention. It represents the first comprehensive compilation of periodicals and newspapers published in the Congo and Ruanda Urundi since the publication of M. H. Kessels' survey in the June 1936 issue of the review *Congo*. It contains a topical as well as a reference index by place of publication, a major improvement on the earlier bibliographies of similar nature. A useful supplement to Berlage's work is the recently published survey of J. M. Van Bol entitled *La Presse Quotidienne au Congo Belge* (Bruxelles, 1959). One of the most authoritative bibliographical articles on the history of the Congo is M. Huismann, "Essai de bibliographie pratique d'historie coloniale," *Congo*, No. 4 (June 1932), No. 2 (September 1932), No. 3 (October 1932). Despite its comprehensiveness the articles need to be brought up to date: for this purpose the reader is referred to *Documents pour servir à la connaissance des populations indigènes* (Léopoldville: Section Documentation, Archives du Congo Belge, No. 2, 1958), which contains a complete inventory of the historical, anthropological and linguistic studies available from the archives of the Belgian Congo in Leopoldville. At the level of the Province, the only available survey is Walraet's *Bibliographie du Katanga*, Mémoire de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Tome XXXII (Bruxelles, 1958).

Among the several continuing sources of current bibliography with special emphasis on the politics of Central Africa, the episodic review *Zaire* deserves first priority. Under the section "Sciences administratives, politiques et sociales" will be found an exhaustive listing of current publications, including an excellent coverage of Flemish sources of information. The selection of works reviewed under the rubric "Recensions" is particularly noteworthy for the definite, yet not exclusive, emphasis given to Congolese questions. The equivalents of this review for the pre-War period are the monthlies *Congo*, which contains many useful references under the section "Droit-Législation," and the *Revue Congolaise*, which appeared for the first time respectively in 1921 and 1911. Equally valuable are the listings of current sources of information found in the quarterly review of the Institut Universitaire des Territoires d'Outre-Mer (formerly Université Coloniale), *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, and in the review *Problèmes Sociaux Congolais*, previously known as *Bulletin du CEPSI*, a quarterly published under the auspices of the *Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes* (*CEPSI*). None of these reviews could match the comprehensive bibliographical references found in *Africa*, the journal of the International African Institute of London. The latter publication should therefore be considered as an indispensable supplement to Belgian periodicals.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND HISTORY

The physical setting and ecology of the Congo are not only helpful to account for past policies in the fields of social and economic development; they also represent a set of factors which will continue to have a direct bearing on the scale and orientation of political objectives. General background data on the geography of the area will be found in Robert L. Pendleton, "The Belgian Congo: impressions of a changing region," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 39 (1949) pp. 371–400. A concise survey of the influence of ecological factors on social and political issues will be found in G. T. Kimble, "The Belgian Congo," *Focus*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (September 1954). An instructive description of the physical environment and subsoil resources of the area will be found in W. R. Moore, "White magic in the Belgian Congo," *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (March 1952), pp. 321–374. The bearing of basic geographical conditions and natural resources on the level of economic and social development has also been the subject of many official and semi-official studies. The most notable are *Contribution à l'étude du problème de l'économie rurale au Congo Belge* (Bruxelles: Ministère des Colonies, 1952); E. Polinard, "Les Richesses minérales du Congo Belge"; and R. Vandenput and P. Van Den Abeele, "Le Congo Economique," *Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, Vols. 2 and 3 (Bruxelles: Bieleveld ed., 1953), pp. 471–561 and pp. 383–395.

Central to an understanding of contemporary problems is the historical evolution of native societies in the Congo. Historical accounts must, however, be approached with considerable caution, first because they generally reflect the preconceptions of their authors, and second because of the lack of available documentary information concerning the transactions which accompanied the transfer of authority from the International Association of he Congo to the Congo Free State and ultimately to the Belgian government.

The pre-colonial period, the record suggests, emains a sparsely cultivated research area. This is due to the unreliable character and relaive scarcity of documentary material, and also o the apprehension shared by most advocates of colonial rule that the revival of a "negro past" might provide an authoritative basis on which nationalist leaders could rely to stake heir claims. Among the general works immune to such biases, the most instructive are Basil Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered* (London, 1959); Charles A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique des Origines à 1945* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1958); J. C. de Graft Johnson, *African Glory: the Story of the Vanished Negro Civilizaions* (London, 1953); and J. Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire Occidentale et Centrale* (Paris, 1958). Despite an impressive documentation and an extensive bibliography, the latter contribution s marred by the author's tendentious efforts to nterpret African history systematically in Marxist terms. A more useful corrective to the stereotyped aspects of African history is J. D. Fage, *An introduction to the history of West Africa* (Cambridge, 1955), which should be read with frequent reference to his recent *Atlas of African History* (London, 1958).

Among the works dealing more specifically with the precolonial history of the Congo, J. Cuvelier's rank among the most authoritative. His *Ancien Royaume du Congo*, Mémoire de l'ARSC, Tome XXXII (Bruxelles, 1954) and *Note sur la documentation de l'histoire du Congo*, Bulletin de l'IRCB, Tome XXIV (Bruxelles, 1953), are of special interest to historians as well as political scientists. One of the most illuminating works on the historical kingdom of the Congo, as distinct from other kingdoms at one time located within the present boundaries of the Belgian Congo, is A. Ihle, *Das Alte Konigreich Kongo* (Leipzig, 1929), which is still occasionally cited by historiographers of Africa. An earlier work on the same subject is L. B. Proyart, *Histoire du Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique* (Paris, 1776), an anecdotal account based largely on the testimonies of French and Portuguese missionaries. A more critical description of the historical evolution of the kingdom of the Congo will be found in J. Van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo*, Vol. 1, "Histoire et Sociologie" (Bruxelles, 1921). On the methodological problems connected with historical research on the Congo, G. Van Bulck, "L'Ancien Congo d'aprés les archives Romaines," *Zaire* (March 1955), pp. 529–537, and J. Vansina, "Histoire des Kuba du Kasai: valeur historique des traditions orales," a paper delivered at the second Conference on African History and Archeology held in London in July 1957, should prove especially useful.

The best survey of the international events leading to the Berlin Conference of 1884 will be found in Miss S. Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference, 1884–1885* (London, 1942) and in L. Le Febvre de Vivy, *Documents d'Histoire Pré-coloniale Belge*, Mémoire de l'ARSC, Tome VII (Bruxelles, 1955). Other useful works on the same period include A. J. Wauters, *Histoire Politique du Congo Belge* (Bruxelles, 1955); F. Masoin's monumental *Histoire de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo*, 2 vols. (Namur, 1912); and A. Berriedale Keith, *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act* (Oxford, 1919). The expeditions of Henry Morton Stanley, the legendary agent of the *Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo*, are colorfully related in his famous work *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, 2 vols. (London, 1885) and his equally well known account, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, 1879). The history of the Congo Free State is somewhat obscured by the polemics and special pleading concerning the role of Leopold II during this period. In the eyes of some historians the king's philanthropy was clearly evidenced by his desire to put an end to the Arab slave trade. In the eyes of others he was the incarnation of the self-seeking despot eager to deprive the Africans of their resources in order to add even more luster to his Court. Illustrative, in varying degrees, of the first attitude are Louis de Lichtervelde, *Leopold of the Belgians* (New York, 1909); D. C. Boulger, *The Congo State* (London, 1890); H. W. Wack, *The Story of the Congo Free State* (New York, 1905); and R. S. Thomsen *Fondation de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo* (Bruxelles, 1933). The most notable representative of the latter is E. D. Morel, the tireless publicist of the Congo Reform Association, whose views are unambiguously stated in his *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (London, 1954), *The Congo Crown Domain* (Liverpool, 1908), and *The Economic Aspect of the Congo Problem* (Liverpool, 1907). A far more dispassionate discussion will be found in Raymond L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*. Among the more specialized treatments of the history of the Congo Free State, Ruth M. Slade *English-speaking missions in the Congo Independent State*, Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XXX (Bruxelles, 1958), ranks high; while M. A. Stenmans, *La reprise du Congo par la Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1949), provides instructive insights into the period of the campaign against the maintenance of the Free State.

The one-sidedness of a large number of historical studies becomes magnified as soon as the time perspective is missing. The reliability of the information available on the colonial period as such is therefore even more limited. Two other factors have also contributed to obfuscate the issues; one is the paucity of sources in the English language, the other the reluctance on the part of Belgian administrators to state clearly the ultimate objectives of Belgian colonial policies. It is significant that two of the most valuable works on this period are the products of non-Belgian scholars, namely Raymond L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, and Lord Hailey, *African Survey*, 2d. ed. (Oxford, 1957), the latter nevertheless tending to espouse the official position of the Belgian government. Among the short accounts of recent colonial policies in the Congo, the study by Guy Malengrau, "La Politique Coloniale de la Belgique," in *Colonial Administration* (Colston Papers, London, 1950), provides in spite of its official overtones a useful discussion of the instrumentalities, scope and achievements of the Belgian colonial administration. The official position of the Belgian government with regard to colonial matters has been described by Pierre Ryckmans, at one time Governor General and later delegate to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, in his *Politique Indigène* (Bruxelles, 1949), and *Dominer Pour Servir* (Bruxelles: Editions Nouvelles, 1948). The assumptions and principles which have governed Belgian policies in Africa are stated in Pierre Wygny, "Methods of government in the Belgian Congo," *African Affairs*, Vol. 50 (October, 1951), pp. 310–317, and in A. F. G. Marzorati, "The Political Organization and the Evolution of African Society in the Belgian Congo," *African Affairs*, Vol. 53 (April 1954), pp. 10–112. The general tenor and contents of Georges Hostelet, *L'Oeuvre Civilisatrice de la Belgique au Congo*, 2 vols., Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XXXIII (Bruxelles, 1954), is hinted at in the title of the work: the theme of the "bien-être intellectuel et moral" of the native populations is dominant in both volumes. A more useful summary of the changes in the administrative structure of the former colony introduced since the creation of the Congo Free State will be found in A. Gille, "La Politique Indigène du Congo Belge et du Ruanda Urundi," *Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, Vol. 3, pp. 708–747. One of the most lucid and best documented reviews of the potential dangers of native policies in the Congo is the short study of a former District Commissioner, V. Vermeulen, *Déficiences et Dangers de notre Politique Indigène* (Bruxelles, 1953). The nature of the prescriptions advanced by the author in the last chapter of his work denote unusual foresight and soundness of judgment. The best historical survey of the role of the military in the conquest and administration of the Congo until 1914 is to be found in the study made by the General Staff of the *Force Publique*, entitled *La Force Publique de sa naissance à 1914*, Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XXVII (Bruxelles, 1952), which contains a wealth of data on the methods of recruitment and training of native contingents, their triba origins and their relative size. A more recent survey of the organization and role played by the military is offered in P. Ermens, "Organisation militaire de la Colonie," *Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, Vol. 3, pp. 814–826.

III. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Official publications are not only essential to the student of Congolese politics in search of correctives or supplements to secondary sources; they also provide an invaluable source of statistical information on a wide range of subjects. The following items represent a selective list of official material designed to provide a comprehensive background of information on current Congolese problems:

1. Charte Coloniale
2. Codes et Lois du Congo Belge
3. Annales Parlementaires: Chambre des Représentants, Compte-Rendu Analytique
4. Annales Parlementaires: Sénat, Compte-Rendu Analytique
5. Rapports des Commissions de la Chambre et du Sénat
6. Bulletin Officiel
7. Bulletin Administratif
8. Moniteur Congolais
9. Rapports Annuels sur l'Administration du Congo Belge présentés aux Chambres Législatives
10. Conseil Colonial: Compte-Rendus Analytiques
11. Conseil de Gouvernement: Compte-Rendu Analytique
12. Conseils de Province: Compte-Rendus Analytiques
13. Discours d'Ouverture des Gouverneurs Généraux aux Conseils de Gouvernement
14. Bulletin mensuel des statistiques générales du Congo

The *Charte Coloniale*, officially known as the *Loi sur le Gouvernement du Congo Belge*, enacted by the Chambers in 1908, remained the basic constitutional document of the Belgian Congo until June 30, 1960, the date on which the Congo became formally independent. On

March 31, 1960 the Chambre des Représentants unanimously voted in favor of the *Loi fondamentale relative aux structures du Congo*, designed to abrogate the provisions of the *Charte*. The text of the *Loi fondamentale*, composed of 253 articles, will be found in *Documents Parlementaires, Chambre des Représentants*, No. 489, 31 Mars 1960, pp. 1–44.

The most elaborate commentary on the issues of public law involved in the constitutional relationships between the metropolitan government and the Congo, as described in the *Charte* of 1908, will be found in Michel Halewyck, *La Charte Coloniale*, 4 vols. (Bruxelles, 1919). A more recent and manageable study is Jean Pierre Paulus, *Droit Public du Congo Belge* (Bruxelles: Institut de Sociologie Solvay, 1959). A critical survey of the provisions included in the *Loi fondamentale* of March 1960 and of the resolutions adopted by the delegates to the Round Table Conference held in Brussels in January 1960 is offered in Francois Perin, *Les Institutions Politiques du Congo Indépendant* (Leopoldville: Institut Politique Congolais, 1960).

The *Charte* provided that legislative powers were to be exercised by the Minister of Colonies acting on behalf of the King through decrees or *arrêtés royaux*, the main difference here being that the latter may be issued without consulting the *Conseil Colonial*. Decrees and *arrêtés*, together with the ordinances issued by the Governor General and in some instances by Provincial Governors, are listed by subject matters in Pierre Piron, *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge*, 4 vols. (Bruxelles: F. Larcier ed., 1959). The documentation pertaining to the pre-World War I period and the Congo Free State is available from Louwers et Grenade, *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge* (Bruxelles, 1923), *Jurisprudence de l'Etat du Congo*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1905), and *Recueil Usuel de Législation, Etat Indépendant du Congo* (Bruxelles, 1905). The *Bulletin Officiel du Congo Belge* and the *Bulletin administratif du Congo Belge*, contain respectively and in chronological order, the decrees and ordinances issued by the Minister of Colonies and Governor General up to 1960 when both publications were replaced by a single one, the *Moniteur Congolais*.

The debates in the Chambers are extensively reproduced in the *Compte-Rendus Analytiques* of the *Annales Parlementaires*. They are convenient to use, instead of the verbatim reports of the Chambers, because the remarks of Flemish-speaking deputies are reproduced in French. The *Documents Parlementaires* contain several reports of parliamentary committees on a wide range of topics dealing with the administration of the Congo. One of the most recent and illuminating is the Report of the study group, *Rapport du Groupe de Travail pour l'étude du problème politique au Congo*, which was presented to the Chamber of Representatives on January 20, 1959. According to its terms of reference this committee conducted an inquiry on behalf of the Minister of Colonies on the "views and aspirations of the inhabitants of the Congo concerning the way in which the political and administrative evolution of the colony ought to be pursued." The yearly *Rapport sur l'Administration de la Colonie*, presented to the Chambers on behalf of the Minister of Colonies contains an exceptionally useful body of information on the various aspects of social, economic and political developments in the Congo. It includes a record of major legislative ordinances, a summary of their provisions, their dates of issuance and official references; data pertaining to the frequency of the meetings of the *Députation Permanente*, an advisory body to the Governor General, together with a survey of the agenda submitted for its consideration. Under the section *Action Sociale* is gathered information concerning the role and numerical importance of labor organizations in each Province; the number of *conseils d'entreprise* and their regional distribution, the frequency of their meetings, membership figures, etc. The latest census figures, broken down by Provinces, Districts and Territories, and the density of native and European population in each major territorial division are brought up to date in each yearly issue.

The *Compte-Rendus Analytique des Séances du Conseil Colonial* provide an invaluable source of information on the economic and social conditions prevailing in the Congo as well as many perceptive comments on the possible effects of ministerial decisions. Despite the fact that the *Conseil Colonial*, later known as *Conseil de Legislation*, was a non-partisan advisory body, serious criticisms were occasionally voiced by its members. The discussions which took place in the course of the 1959 session are especially instructive, as for the first time Congolese spokesmen were admitted to be seated on this body. Its counterpart in the colony, also advisory, was the *Conseil de Gouvernement*, whose membership included, in addition to high-ranking officials, representatives from various categories of interests. Congolese delegates were admitted to the *Conseil de Gouvernement* for the first time in 1945. The *Compte-Rendus Analytiques du Conseil de Gouvernement*, together with the *Compte-Rendus des Conseils de Province*, at the local level, provide many revealing insights into the pattern of conflicting interests opposing the native to the European population and, especially as of 1956, the colonial administration to the European population. The opening address of the Governor General to the members of the *Conseil de Gouvernement* was published yearly under the title *Discours d'Ouverture du Gouverneur Général.* It is especially useful insofar as it represents an official formulation of the immediate political objectives of the administration at the level of the colony.

The *Bulletin Mensuel des Statistiques Générales du Congo et du Ruanda Urundi* contains an impressive array of statistical information on the production of various commodities, budgetary receipts, the levels of investment in the different sectors of the Congolese economy and other related matters. It is published in two series—*Affaires Economiques* and *Section Statistique*—differing from one another in emphasis rather than subject matter coverage. The *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique et du Congo* is also useful for comparative statistical information on the growth of economic development, the spread and level of education, the flow of commercial transactions taking place between the colony and the metropole.

Two monthly publications containing official news items and short articles on current problems deserve passing reference: *The Belgian Congo To-day,* and *Belgian Congo,* both published by Inforcongo, the Information and Public Relations Bureau of the Government General in Léopoldville.

IV. TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The influence of traditional political structures is directly relevant to an appreciation of the character of nationalist movements in the Congo and their future orientations. Some of the most crucial and immediate issues of the Congolese scene involve political claims which reflect the objectives and values of traditional societies. The outcome of the interaction processes between modernist and tradition-oriented elites will affect in a decisive manner the prospects of political stability in the Congo.

Despite the lack of interpretive studies on the possible effects of traditionalist elements on modernist political groups, and *vice versa,* a number of valuable monographs deal with tribal cultures treated as distinct and isolated phenomena. The Bakongo have been the subject of several comprehensive studies, the best known of which are J. Van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo,* 2 vols. (Vol. 1, *Histoire et Sociologie;* Vol. 2, *Religion et Magie,* Bruxelles, 1921); E. Waxweiler, *Etudes Bakwango* (Liège, 1912) and J. Mertens, *Les Chefs Couronnés chez les Bakongo Orientaux,* Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tom XI (Bruxelles, 1949). Each of these three work contains instructive comments on the traditional authority systems as they operate among the crowned chiefs (*mfumu mpu*) an village chiefs (*mfumu gata*) of the Bakong tribes. The contributions of G. Van Der Kerke are particularly noteworthy for their comprehensiveness. His *Ethnie Mongo,* 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1944) constitutes a most rewarding study o a numerically important tribal group of th Equatorial Province. His *Populations Africaines du Congo Belge et du Ruanda Urundi, Encyclopédie du Congo Belge,* Vol. 1, pp. 81–135, provides an excellent description of the political systems prevailing among the traditional societies of the Congo; his classification of primitive political structures according to "empires," "kingdoms," "sultanates" and "seigneureries" on the one hand, and patriarchal societies on the other, are misleading, however, as few of the authority systems encountered in the Congo can be accurately described in terms of Western concepts. *Les grandes lignes de migration des Bantous de la Province Orientale du Congo Belge,* Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome IV (Bruxelles, 1936), by former Governor General A. Moeller, contains a useful survey of such dispersed societies as the Bakumu, Bapere, Wahumu, Banande, Bahunde and Bashi, each of them discussed in terms of their investiture rituals, methods of succession and political organization. On the "Pygmies" of the Belgian Congo, several works in German are available, the best known of which is Paul Schebesta's monumental study, *Die Bambuti Pygmaen vom Ituri,* 4 vols. Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome 1 (Bruxelles, 1950) and P. Schumacher, *Die Kivu Pigmaen,* Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome V (Bruxelles, 1950). The research findings of P. Schebesta have been summarized in a work of more modest dimensions entitled *Les Pygmées du Congo Belge,* Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XXVI (Bruxelles, 1952), in which the author deals not only with the Bambuti but also with such ethnically related groups as the Batwaga, the Batshwa and the Babinga. The institutions of the Bakuba tribes have been analyzed by J. Vansina, "L'Etat Kuba dans le cadre des institutions politiques africaines," *Zaire* (Mai 1957), pp. 485–498 and "Les tribus Ba-Kuba," *Ethnographic Survy of Africa,* Pt. 1 (London: International African Institute, 1954). The political organization of the Lunda has been described by D. Biebuyck in "Fondements de l'organisation politique des Lunda du Mwaantayaav," *Zaire,* Vol. 11 (October 1957), pp. 787–817.

Very few studies have been made of the traditional political system of the Batetela; the only available one, to this writer's knowledge, is L. de Heusch, "Autorité et prestige dans la société tetela", *Zaire*, Vol. 8 (December 1954), pp. 1011–1018. Several articles and books have been written on the customs of the Baluba: A. Bouillon, "La corporation des chasseurs Baluba" *Zaire*, Vol. 12 (May 1958), pp. 563–594, E. Verhulpen, "*Baluba et Balubaisés du Katanga*" (Antwerp: L'Avenir Belge, 1936), and J. Weydert, *Les Balubas chez eux* (Luxembourg, 1938), provide little more than a superficial introduction to the traditional system of the Muluba society. This gap is all the more deplorable because the Baluba represent a numerically important group, especially in the Kasai and Katanga regions. The Muyaka society, sometimes identified with the Yaga tribes—an important component of the populations of the Lower Congo—has received exhaustive treatment in two of M. Planquaert's works, *Les Jaga et les Bayaka du Kwango* (Bruxelles, 1932) and *Les Sociétés Secrètes chez les Bayaka* (Louvain: Kuyl-Otto, 1930). The only study in English on the Bayaka is E. Torday and T. A. Joyce "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bayaka," *Journal, Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 36 (1906), pp. 278–299. An excellent description of the Azande society will be found in P. Baxter and A. Butt, "The Azande and related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo." *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, Pt. 9 (London: International African Institute, 1953). The only comprehensive study of social organization among the peoples of the Congo is Alan P. Merriam's in "The concepts of Culture Clusters Applied to the Belgian Congo," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 15 (1959), pp. 373–398. Aside from a few errors and omissions the article contains some valuable insights, considering the unreliable character and paucity of the literature available.

The customary law of Congolese societies has been a major focus of inquiry on the part of administrators and missionaries. Among the continuous sources of information on the jurisprudence of native tribunals, the *Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes et du Droit Coutumier*, published by the Société d'Etudes Juridiques du Katanga, deserves special attention. Under the section "Etudes" will be found interpretive studies of selected aspects of customary legal systems; under the section "Jurisprudence" are recorded the decisions and proceedings of litigations handled through local tribunals, including the type of legal action brought against the defendant. In the same category of material, the *Revue Juridique du Congo Belge* and the *Bulletin des Tribunaux de Police Congolais* deserve mention. The Société d'Etudes Juridiques has also published a number of studies which describe the relationships prevailing among the members of specific communities as prescribed by their customary law. The best known are F. Grevisse, *Notes sur le droit coutumier des Balebi* (Bruxelles, 1948); R. Lenfant's *Notes sur le droit coutumier Baluba* (Bruxelles, 1950); and C. Brau, *Le Droit Coutumier Lunda* (Bruxelles, 1952). Unfortunately the great majority of studies in this area tend to utilize analytical categories derived from Western legal concepts and hence fail to convey the actual basis of legitimacy of customary law. A useful corrective in this respect is the work of a Nigerian scholar, T. O. Elias, *The Nature of African Customary Law* (Manchester 1956); and de Sousberghe's article "L'Etude du droit coutumier. Méthodes et obstacles." *Zaire*, Vol. 9 (April 1955), pp. 339–359, which deals specifically with the semantic problems posed by what the author calls the "casuistry of the Bapende." For a comprehensive and interpretive study of the customary legal systems of the Congo, A. Sohier, *Traité Elémentaire de Droit Coutumier* (Bruxelles, 1949), remains unmatched. Problems of legal acculturation in the Congo area have been explicitly raised in F. Grevisse's classic, *La Grande pitié des juridictions indigènes*, Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XIX (Bruxelles, 1949), which constitutes one of the most critical appraisals of the functioning of the territorial tribunals of the Katanga region.

Land tenure problems have been dealt with in a number of studies of varying scope, as will appear from a cursory examination of D. Biebuyck, *Bibliographie sur la tenure et les Problèmes fonciers* (Léopoldville: Gouvernement Général, 1956). Professor Malengrau's *Les Droits Fonciers Coutumiers chez les indigènes du Congo Belge, Essai d'interprètation juridique*, Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XV (Bruxelles, 1946), provides a critical evaluation of the contributions made by various scholars on the subject of African customary law, as well as a substantial bibliography. His *Lotissements Agricoles au Congo Belge*, Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XIX (Bruxelles, 1949), deals with the specific question of controlled land settlements as they may enter into conflict with customary laws. A short study of land tenure systems in the Congo as contrasted with those of Western Europe will be found in E. Kremer, "Le Droit Coutumier foncier du Congo Belge," *Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes*, No. 9–10 (1956), pp. 233–258, 269–286.

As a result of the conscious efforts made by the Belgian government to reduce native jurisdictions to more tractable, yet artificial, dimensions, profound changes have occurred in the traditional structures. While occasionally alluded to in the studies previously mentioned, the problem of change and acculturation has been given specific treatment elsewhere. The transformations which have affected traditional authorities as a result of the peculiar system of indirect rule implemented in pursuance of the decree of 1910 are discussed in a series of articles by administrators and scholars in a special issue of *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale,* No. 43 (1959), entitled "Congo New Look et Autorités Traditionnelles." The impact of urbanization on traditional societies is discussed in F. Grevisse, "Le Centre extra-coutumier d'Elizabethville," P. Clement, "Formes et valeurs de la vie sociale urbaine" and V. G. Pons, "Influence changeante de l'origine ethnique et du degré d'occidentalisation sur la répartition de la population africaine de Stanleyville," *Social Aspects of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara,* (Paris: Unesco Publication, 1956), pp. 182–187, 393–500, 682–716. G. Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1955), provides a stimulating discussion of the changes in traditional relationships brought about by modernization among the Bakongo society. Equally relevant for an understanding of the "reversal of status" attending urban contacts is Balandier's *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* (Paris: Cahier de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1955). A more theoretical approach to the problem of acculturation is exemplified by his article, "Structures Sociales Traditionnelles et Changements Economiques", *Revue de l'Institut Sociologie Solvay,* Vol. 1 (1959), pp. 27–50.

The absence of a general conceptual framework applicable to the study of primitive societies constitutes the most serious handicap to a comparative study of traditional policies. Several attempts have been made to remedy this *lacuna,* the most noteworthy being the typology elaborated by Professors Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard in their *African Political Systems* (London, 1940). Their conceptual categories—centralized systems, lineage systems and kinship systems—have however been criticized in a particularly constructive fashion by M. G. Smith, "On segmentary lineage systems", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. 86 (July–December 1956), pp. 43–55. The arguments against the trichotomy employed by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard are developed with even greater cogency in the Introduction to J. Middleton and D. Tait, *Tribe without rulers* (London, 1958), which provide evidence of politically uncentralized societie that do not fit the pattern described in *Africa Political systems.* Two of the major foci of analysis utilized by Middleton and Tait, role differentiation on one hand and levels of lineage segmentation on the other, would prove especiall helpful to the study of Congolese primitiv societies, since a substantial proportion of then can be identified with uncentralized traditiona systems.

V. TRANSITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The transfer of political authority to Congolese elites has, until recently, been carried ou to a very limited extent, and then only wit grudging acquiescence. As a result, Congoles nationalism, in its latent and manifest expressions, has asserted itself through differen media and with varying degrees of intensity depending on the period and area considered

Syncretistic and prophetic movements hav on various occasions provided outlets for nationalist sentiments at the tribal level; the dogmatic contents of such movements have been major determinant of the scope and virulenc of native opposition to Belgian tutelage. Tw of Professor Balandier's studies are particularl relevant for the study of such phenomena. One "Messianismes des Bakongo," *Encyclopédi Coloniale et Maritime Mensuelle,* Vol. 1 (Augus 1951), pp. 216–220, describes the origins an development of Kibanguism—a prophetic puritanical sect organized by the late Simo Kibangu—and Matswanism, another prophetic sect founded by André Matswa whic drew most of its membership from the Balali, sub-group of the Bakongo located in the Republic of the Congo. Another, "Messianisme et Nationalismes en Afrique Noire," *Cahier Internationaux de Sociologie,* Vol. 14 (1953), pp 41–65, introduces a useful distinction betwee what he terms "Ethiopian" and "Zionist Churches, the former referring to a modernis and aristocratic organization tending toward the establishment of a specifically Africa Church, the latter designating a more radica movement, usually associated with the messianic personality of a prophet. A valuable account of the origins of prophetic movements i the Congo, with special emphasis on the Kitawala is contained in Jean Comhaire, "Secre societies and prophetic movements in the Belgian Congo," *Africa,* Vol. 25 (January 1955) pp. 54–58. A detailed enquiry into the doctrina re-orientations which have characterized th ibanguist movement will be found in J. Van Ving, "Le Kibanguisme vu par un témoin," 'aire, Vol. 12 (1958), pp. 563–618. The best ocumented study of the organizational feaures, dogmatic tenets and implications of the novement will be found in Paul Raymaekers' emarkable article, "L'Eglise de Jésus Christ ur la terre par le prophète Simon Kibangu. ontribution à l'étude des mouvements messiaiques du Bas Congo," *Zaire* Vol. 13 (1959), p. 576–656. The role of sects as carriers of ationalism and the motivations underlying eparatist Churches in general are analyzed by ames S. Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical frica," this REVIEW, Vol. 48 (June 1954), pp. 04–426. Similar phenomena are dealt with in hapter 3 of Thomas Hodgkin's stimulating ork, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London, 956). In the light of the decisive influence exrted by the Independent Bantu Churches of he Union of South Africa, B. G. M. Sundkler's lassic, *Bantu Prophets in Africa* (London, 948), is especially relevant to the study of primary resistance" movements in the Belian Congo. E. Andersson, *Messianic Popular ovements in the Lower Congo* (Uppsala, 1958), eals with the historical development of mesianic movements in French and Belgian Afica; it contains a wealth of first-hand docunentation on Mpadism, Matswanism and imbanguism. The last chapter on "Foreign nfluences on messianic movements" is particlarly valuable for an understanding of the role layed by Protestant and Catholic missions in he emergence of various separatist Churches.

The proliferation of a variety of associations n the course of the past decade is not only a ymptom of a growing political consciousness mong Congolese; it is also a source of contined tension among competing elites. Some of hese associations may be functionally diffuse s in the case of tribal or cultural unions, or unctionally specific as in the case of trade-unons, alumni associations, cooperative organizaions, and so on. They all seek nevertheless to rovide or recapture a sense of common purose or identity and they all have functioned at ne time or another as alternatives to political arties. Even at this time, with the exception of few nation-wide modernist groups, virtually ll Congolese parties reflect an articulation and ggregation of interests which are indigenous to traditional society. No interpretive studies re available at this time, however, on the foreeeable impact of associational structures on the rowth of Congolese political parties.

The most exhaustive compilation of the platorms, alliances and leadership of parties in the Léopoldville area is to be found in M. C. C. deBacker, *Notes pour sérvir a l'étude des goupements politiques à Léopoldville*, 3 vols. (Léopoldville: Inforcongo, 1960). A brief summary of the evolution of Congolese political groups is available from Paul Van Reyn, *Le Congo Politique* (Bruxelles, 1960). The nationalist claims and counterclaims which led to the Round Table Conference of Brussels are analyzed in *Congo 1959, Documents Belges et Africains* (Bruxelles: CRISP, 1960), published by the *Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques* (CRISP) in Brussels. Current political developments at the regional level are analyzed in the weekly *Bulletin du CRISP, Courrier Africain: e.g.*, an account of the political situation in the Leopoldville and Kantanga Provinces in the early part of 1960 will be found in "Problèmes du Bas Congo," *ibid.*, Nos. 59–60 (April 8–12, 1960) and "Les Problèmes du Katanga," *ibid.*, No. 55 (March 4, 1960). The information available from CRISP publications is of special interest as it is drawn from sources which are usually regarded as confidential. The development of trade-union activities and their influence on the growth of nationalist movments are discussed in J. Nicaise, "Chronique, Belgian Congo," *Civilisations*, Vol. 7 (1957), pp. 606–616 and in A. A. J. Van Bilsen, "Le syndicalisme," *La Relève* (Bruxelles) April 6–13, 1957. The background and orientation of Congolese elites has been the subject of a stimulating analysis by G. E. Brausch, "Le Problème des élites au Congo Belge," *International Social Science Bulletin*, Unesco, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1956), pp. 452–458. The character and behavior of Congolese elites as they tend to operate in an urban environment have been ably described by P. Caprasse in "*Leaders Africains en milieu urbain*," *Centre d'Etude des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes* (CEPSI), Vol. 5, 1959.

The variant responses of the European minority and the Belgian government to the political awakening of Congolese elites are reflected in several official or semi-official statements issued by administrators, settlers' organizations and Church groups. The reforms proposed by the Belgian government in 1959 are reprinted in *Congo 1959, Dossiers Africains*, pp. 9–16, and in an address by Mr. Van Hemelrijk, ex-Minister of the Congo, delivered to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi Press Association, which is extensively reproduced in *Belgian Congo*, Nos. 7–8 (July-August 1959). The Catholic Church stated its official position in a strikingly liberal fashion in the "Déclaration de l'Episcopat du Congo Belge et du Ruanda Urundi," *Revue du Clergé Africain*, Tome

XI, No. 5 (September 1956), pp. 449–458. The opinions of the "landed" and industrial settlers are recorded in a declaration of the *Fédération des Associations de Colons et des Classes Moyennes Congolaises* (*Fédacol*), one of the most powerful pressure organizations in the Congo, entitled "But et Doctrine de la Fédacol," *Eurafrica*, No. 4 (October 1958), pp. 8–19. A short survey of the respective positions of Congolese and Belgian political groups at the end of 1958 will be found in A. Doucy, "Mouvement des idées relatives à l'avenir politique du Congo Belge," *L'Avenir Politique du Congo Belge* (Bruxelles, 1959).

Severe limitations have admittedly been imposed on Africans anxious to give free expression to their aspirations and grievances. Yet, the writings of Congolese *évolués* which are presently available represent more than a purely literary source of interest; they contain the graphic expressions of their own values. The impressions conveyed by P. Tempels, *La Philosophie Bantoue* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1949) will provide an excellent introduction to the problems posed by conflicting belief-systems. While P. Tempels' observations will on occasion betray his lack of critical sense, the fact that they will be acknowledged and utilized by Congolese is important. A similar attempt to deal with the problem of conflicting value systems has been made by a prominent member of the African clergy, the abbé Alexis Kagame, in his *Philosophie Bantoue Ruandaise de l'Etre* (Bruxelles, 1953), which was presented in the form of a doctoral dissertation at the Gregorian University of Rome. Writing in a more literary vein, Paul Mushiete, President of the Eurafrican Students Union of the University of Louvain, is the author an intriguing article, "La littérature Congolaise," *La Revue Nouvelle*, June 15, 1957, pp. 20–28, in which he makes an interesting classification of African literary *genres*, under which are subsumed the different plays, proverbs, tales, legends, essays, orations and symbols which enter into the political heritage of the Congolese in general and the Bateke in particular. A. R. Bolamba, former editor of *La Voix du Congolais*, reveals his strong attachment to the Mongo culture in his *Esango* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1955), prefaced by Leopold Senghor. T. Kanza's short essay *"Congo, Pays de deux évolués"* (Léopoldville: Actualités Africaines, 1957), contains many instructive comments on the cultural disparities separating the Congolese from the European communities. His recently published pamphlet *Tôt ou Tard* (*Ata Ndele*) (Bruxelles, 1960), contains some violent diatribes against virtually all aspects of the Be gian administration in the Congo. An ann tated selection of works by Congolese writer carrying abundant citations, has been com piled by J. M. Jadot and published as *Ecrivai Africains du Congo Belge*, Mémoire de l'ARS Tome XVII (Bruxelles, 1959). In view of i wide coverage this material should be pa ticularly useful for an understanding of th cultural antecedents of contemporary elites.

VI. MODERN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Paternalist policies, relying on a highl centralized system of administration, rest o the assumption that political rights can legit mately and safely be denied to indigenou populations as long as their social and economi needs are properly met. As a result, the Belgia government has been heavily involved in large scale programs of economic and social im provement, accompanied, since the end World War II, by major administrativ changes.

It will be useful, for analytical purposes, t distinguish those changes which have occurre in the "extra-customary" centers—those urba areas where one finds a population of mixe tribal origin—from those which took place i the "customary centers"—essentially the non urban areas.

The changes in the administrative organiza tion of the "customary centers" which wer implemented between the creation of th Congo Free State and the Second World Wa are described in Buell, *The Native Problem i Africa* and in L. Mair, *Native Policies in Afric* (London, 1936), p. 218 ff. A more exhaustiv treatment will be found in Halewyck de Heusc *Organisation Politique et Administrative de l Colonie* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Coloniale In ternationale, 1936). More recent development are recorded in the second edition of Lor Hailey's *African Survey*. The reforms asso ciated with the Franck ministry, in particula the creation, by a decree of 1933, of a syste of *secteurs* designed to consolidate some of th innumerable chiefdoms then in existence, ar critically examined in J. B. Brausch, "Com munes Africaines," *Revue de l'Université d Bruxelles*, Vols. 2 and 3 (January-April 1957) pp. 230–259, and in Professor Malengrau' "Political Evolution in the Belgian Congo," *Journal of African Administration*, Vol. (October 1954), pp. 161–169. The Belgian version of "indirect rule" and the system of *circonscriptions indigènes* sanctioned by the decre of 1933 are analyzed in A. Maron, "Le décre du 5 Decembre 1933, son esprit et son application," Zaire, Vol. 2 (November 1948, pp. 1021–1033. An interesting critique of the objectives and assumptions of the local system of administration in the "customary centers" will be found in A. Doucy, "Sociologie Coloniale et Réformes de Structure," *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, Vols. 2 and 3 (January-April 1957), pp. 219–229. The efforts pursued by the Belgian government to promote social and political advancement in the customary centers have been the subject of a running debate conducted under the auspices of the Institut Universitaire des Territoires d'Outre-Mer. The issues which attracted the attention of the participants—the powers devolved on the *conseils des notables*, the financial responsibility of the *caisses de circonscription*, the consolidation of chiefdoms, etc.—are fully discussed by Messrs. Sohier, Nicaise, Van der Kerken and Coppens in a special issue of the review of the Institute, *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, No. 15 (1951), pp. 169–195.

The basic work on the administration of "extra-customary centers" until the decree of 1957 is Guy Baumer, *Centres Indigènes Extra-coutumiers* (Paris, 1939). It offers a critical analysis of the principles governing the relationships between the appointed chiefs and the European administrators on the one hand, and between the chiefs and the native population on the other. The creation of *cités indigènes* as a possible alternative to the extra-customary centers is discussed by Malengrau in the *Compte-Rendu Analytique des Journées Interuniversitaires d'Etudes Coloniales*, (Bruxelles, 1952) and in the highly condensed but valuable study of the Minister of Colonies entitled "The Organization of Native Administration in the Belgian Congo," *Journal of African Administration*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (April 1956) pp. 85–88. The innovations in municipal administration introduced by the decree of 1957 are described in J. M. Domont, "Prelude à la Démocratisation des Institutions Politiques Congolaises," *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, No. 39 (1958), pp. 1–19.

The problem of civil liberties in the Congo was at one time directly connected with the status of that category of natives known as *évolués*. In May 1952, a revised decree on *immatriculation* established a registration procedure allowing qualified Congolese to enjoy an equality of treatment in the courts and to claim all the rights and immunities applying to the Belgians under the Civil Code. The findings and recommendations of the Commission for the Protection of Native Interests, in charge of suggesting possible remedies for the previous registration procedure, are summarized in L. Guebels, "Relation Complète des Travaux de la Commission Permanente pour la Protection des Indigènes," *Bulletin du CEPSI*, No. 22 (1953), pp. 534–9. A particularly incisive criticism of the assumptions which governed the policy of registration will be found in two articles by A. Sohier, "Le Problème des Indigènes Evolués et la Commission du Statut des Congolais Civilisés," *Zaire*, Vol. 3 (October 1949) pp. 68–89, and "La Politique d'intégration," *Zaire*, Vol. 5 (November 1951), pp. 899–929. The problem of racial discrimination under the Belgian colonial rule is discussed by A. Rubbens in a well documented article, "Le color-bar au Congo Belge," *Zaire*, Vol. 3 (May 1949), pp. 503–505, in which the author examines the discriminatory provisions contained in the Penal Code of the Belgian Congo as well as the statutory limitations on civil liberties which applied to the Congolese. A mild challenge of Rubbens' views will be found in an anonymous article also entitled "Le color-bar au Congo Belge," *Zaire*, Vol. 3 (October 1949), pp. 895–900. An analysis of the changes subsequently introduced will be found in Professor Waleffe's study "Note sur l'application des libertés fondamentales au Congo Belge," *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay*, Vol. 1 (1959), pp. 50–72. The innovations brought about in the field of labor relations and trade-union legislation are fully discussed in J. Ryckbost's valuable article, "La liberté sydicale en droit Congolais," *Zaire*, Vol. 13 (July 1959), pp. 227–243. The discriminatory implications of the employment contract (*contrat d'emploi*) which governed the hiring of non-natives in private jobs, and the labor contract (*contrat de travail*) which governed the hiring of Congolese, appear clearly from the study compiled by the Division of Foreign Labor Conditions of the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor in the Belgian Congo* (Washington, 1959). The role and activities of trade-unions in the pre-independence period are analyzed in "The condition of professional organizations, and trade-unions' rights in the Belgian Congo at the beginning of 1957," *Bulletin of the Inter-African Labor Institute*, Vol. 4 (March 1957), pp. 34–62.

The social and economic policies of such large-scale industrial concerns as the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, *Forminière* and *Géomines* are briefly examined in Malengrau, "Recent Developments in Belgian Africa," *Africa To-day* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 337–357. The specific measures adopted by the Union Minière to implement its policy of labor stabilization are described in L. Moutoulle, "*La politique sociale de l'Union Minière du Haut Katanga pour sa main d'oeuvre indigène,*" Mémoire de l'IRCB, Tome XIV (Bruxelles, 1946). The political implications and objectives of the *Fonds du Bien-Etre Indigène* (FBI) have been analyzed by H. Beckers, "Le Fonds du Bien-Etre Indigène," *Zaire* (October 1950), pp. 787–812. The author evaluates, among other things, the responsibility attributable to the so called *parastataux*—the *Institut National pour l'Etude Agronomique au Congo* (*Ineac*), the *Institut de Recherches scientifiques en Afrique Centrale* (*Irsac*), etc.—in handling the financial resources available from colonial development funds. The important functions at one time devolved on the Institute de Sociologie Solvay for the promotion of "social centers" throughout the Congo are described in J. B. Brausch, "L'Action en Afrique Belge de l'Institute de Sociologie Solvay," *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, No. 41 (1958), pp. 160–165. The social and economic goals of the first ten-year plan for the Congo are enumerated in P. Wigny's pamphlet, "A ten-year plan for the economic and social development of the Belgian Congo" (New York: Belgian Government Information Center, 1951). The long-range economic consequences of monopolistic practices and inadequate wage policies are masterfully analyzed in F. Bézy, *Problèmes Structurels de l'Economie Congolaise* (Louvain, 1957). The host of factors which have affected productivity in the Congo—housing conditions, tribal backgrounds, industrial relations, etc.—are inventoried in A. Doucy and P. Feldheim, *Productivity in the Belgian Congo* (Bruxelles: Institut Solvay, 1958). A more general and perceptive discussion of the dysfunctional effects of industrialization will be found in the works of Soeur Marie Andrè du Sacrè Coeur, especially in Part 3 of her *Civilisations en Marche* (Paris, 1956).

The spread of education at various levels represents another critical factor in the social changes which have and will continue to affect the political evolution of the Congo. Recent figures on native attendance at primary schools and the two major institutions of higher learning, Lovanium and Elizabethville Universities, are available from the *Rapport Annuel sur l'Administration* (Léopoldville: Gouvernement Général, 1958). The various measures adopted since 1952 by the Belgian government to facilitate the access of Congolese to higher education are mentioned in J. M. Jadot's short survey, "Chronique Culturelle et Scientifique, Belgian Congo," *Civilisations*, Vol. 3 (1953) pp. 599–602. The nature and terms of the subsidies extended by the Belgian government to the missions to assist them in their educational functions are examined in J. Vanhove's comprehensive study, "L'Oeuvre d'éducation au Congo Belge et au Ruanda Urundi," *Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, Vol. 3, pp. 749–798. The various aspects of educational policies in the Congo have been discussed in a series of articles published in a special issue of *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, No. 36 (1957), in which the main emphasis is laid on such related problems as the promotion of technical and professional schools, the nature of the university curriculum and the missions' educational program. The concessions in the field of education made to the Flemish-speaking community residing in the Congo are critically examined in L. O. J. de Wilde, "Les Possibilités de Culture et de Vie Flamande au Congo," *Les Probèmes des Langues au Congo Belge et Ruanda Urundi* (Bruxelles: Sichting Lodewijk de Raet, 1958), a plea in favor of the rights of the Flemish minority.

There are no interpretive studies of the disintegrative effects of missionary activities on the traditional structures of the Congo. The problem is alluded to in Fernand Demany, *Le Bal Noir et Blanc* (Bruxelles, 1955), a highly controversial, yet interesting, account of Belgian educational policies as they existed at the inception of Busseret's term of office as Minister of Colonies. A more general and scholarly discussion of the subject will be found in William Bascom, "African Culture and the Missionary," *Civilisations*, Vol. 3 (1954), pp. 491–516 and in chapter 4 of James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), pp. 91–111.

Equally striking is the dearth of interpretive studies concerning the recent and most unexpected transfer of authority. On the impact of metropolitan politics on the growth of Congolese nationalism, Ruth Slade, *Belgian Congo: Recent Developments* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), represents the only English study available at this writing. It provides an excellent starting point for an analysis of recent constitutional and political developments. A well informed treatment of the same subject will be found in J. Marres and P. de Voos, *L'Equinoxe de Janvier* (Bruxelles, 1959), in which no effort is made to whitewash the errors of the Belgian administration in the face of a growing, militant nationalism. The events leading to the Round Table Conference of Brussels as well as the respective positions of the Congolese parties on the various issues discussed in the course of the debates are described in "La Conférence de la Table Ronde Belgo-Congolaise," *Bulletin du CRISP*, No. 58 (March 25, 1960). The prospects of political stability in the Congo are casually treated in Jean Paelink, "L'Avenir Politique du Congo," *Synthèses*, No. 163–164 (December 1959-January 1960), pp. 54–60. For an analysis of the platforms of the major Congolese parties on the eve of the general elections of 1960, see my "Party Politics in the Belgian Congo," *West Africa*, May 21, 28, and June 4, 1960.

VII. NEWSPAPERS

The listings of newspapers and periodicals found in the *Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi Press Directory* (Leopoldville: Government General, 1958) provide an indication of the growing importance of the press in the Belgian Congo. The presence of some four hundred-odd press organs should not be taken as an index of the freedom of expression enjoyed by Africans under Belgian rule. Until recently the status of the press was strictly regulated by a decree of 1922 which enabled the Governor General to take any measures he deemed proper to prevent the circulation or introduction in the Congo of any item likely to lead the natives to "subversive activities." Other factors, however, may help explain the absence of an independent native press in the years preceding independence, in particular the obstacles raised by the presence of four different vernacular languages, the low rate of literacy among Africans, the lack of opportunities offered to Congolese to acquire professional skills in reporting and newspaper editing, and the lack of capital necessary to underwrite independent newspapers.

Eight important newspapers, all published in French and owned by Europeans, appeared regularly during the colonial period: *Le Courrier d'Afrique* and *L'Avenir* (Léopoldville); *L'Echo du Kivu* and *Centre Afrique* (Bukavu); *L'Echo du Katanga* and *L'Essor du Congo* (Elizabethville); *L'Echo de Stan* (Stanleyville) and *La Feuille de Chou* (Jadotville). Within the not too distant future some of them may change hands or cease to be published.

The *Courrier d'Afrique* is usually considered as representing the "press of information" of the Belgian Congo, rather than a "party press." It is, however, doubtful that it could have maintained itself in existence without the financial support of the Christian trade-unions, of the *Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens du Congo* (CSCC) in particular. It is in effect closely affiliated with the *Sodima*, a corporate trade-unionist group responsible for the publication of two important metropolitan right-of-center newspapers, *T'Volk* and *La Cité*. Its weekly supplement, *Présence Congolaise*, edited by a very able team of Congolese intellectuals, tends to support the viewpoint of the Kalondji wing of the *Mouvement National Congolais* (MNC). *L'Avenir*, affiliated with the metropolitan newspaper *La Meuse*, espoused at one time the position of the *Fédération Générale des Travailleurs Belges* (FGTB), the major socialist trade-union organization of Belgium. It also reflects the point of view of the industrial settlers residing in the Leopoldville areas. Its weekly supplement, *Actualités Africaines*, edited by a group of independent Congolese intellectuals, is of a much lower caliber than its counterpart, *Présence Congolaise*. *Centre Afrique* and *L'Echo du Kivu* clearly reflect the opinions of the "landed settlers" of that Province. *L'Echo du Katanga*, an independent left of center newspaper, famous for the polemical tone of its editorials, is notoriously critical of the Belgian administration and large corporate interests. It reflects to a large extent the viewpoint of the *petit-blanc*. A different tendency appears in *L'Essor du Congo*, a conservative, Catholic, right-wing newspaper usually identified with the interests of the large business concerns of the Katanga. *La Feuille de Chou* is notable for the mediocrity of its editorials and the miscellaneous character of its information. *L'Echo de Stan* is now in the hands of Patrice Lumumba, leader of the anti-federalist wing of the MNC, and first Premier of the newly independent republic. The views of the Flemish minority residing in the Congo are expressed in two minor publications—in terms of their circulation if not of their contents—*De Week*, a weekly published in Leopoldville, and *Band*, a monthly also published in Leopoldville which is the official organ of the *Vlaamsvriendenkring*, the major Flemish cultural "pressure group" of the Congo.

Three periodicals published in French during the pre-independence period reflected the opinions of the Congolese *évolués: Conscience Africaine*, edited by Joseph Ileo, a monthly which achieved wide renown as a result of the publication of the first nationalist manifesto in its July 1956 issue; *La Voix du Congolais*, edited by A. R. Bolamba, another monthly, conspicuous for the mildness of its nationalist overtones; and *Congo*, a weekly publication edited by T. Kanza which achieved a wide circulation before it was censored by the Belgian administration in 1957.

The growth of the African-owned press since the latter part of 1959 and the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Congolese is a symptom of the variety of interests competing for political control and leadership. On the eve of independence the major nationalist organs published in the Congo were the following:

TABLE I. NATIONALIST NEWSPAPERS IN THE CONGO, JUNE 1960

Name	City of Publication	Frequency of Issue	Political Group or Party Supported
Notre Kongo	Léopoldville	Weekly	Abako/Kasa-Vubu
Kongo Dieto	Léopoldville	Weekly	Abako/Kasa-Vubu
Kongo Dia Ngunga	Léopoldville	Weekly	Abako/Kasa-Vubu
Congo	Léopoldville	Weekly	Abako/Kanza
L'Independence	Léopoldville	Weekly	MNC/Lumumba
L'Echo de Stan	Stanleyville	Daily	MNC/Lumumba
Uhuru	Bakavu	Weekly	MNC/Lumumba
La Voix du Peuple	Léopoldville	Weekly	MNC/Kalondji
Emancipation	Léopoldville	Bi-monthly	Parti du Peuple
Solidarité Africaine	Léopoldville	Weekly	Parti de la Solidarité Africaine (PSA)
La Nation Congolaise	Léopoldville	Weekly	Parti de l'Unité Africaine (PUNA)
La Liberté	Léopoldville	Weekly	Parti National du Progrès (PNP)
Kimbanguisme	Léopoldville	Weekly	Kimbanguism
Kongo Ya Sika	Léopoldville	Bi-monthly	Catholic Church
Nsango Na Kobikisa	Léopoldville	Monthly	Salvation Army
Nsango Ya Bisu	Léopoldville	Bi-monthly	Force Publique
La Verité	Bukavu	Weekly	Centre de Regroupement
Le Phare	Coquilhatville	Weekly	Union Mongo (UNIMO)
La Voix du Katanga	Elisabethville	Bi-monthly	Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (CONAKAT)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Politics of the Developing Areas. Edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 591. $10.00).

This is so ambitious and important a book that an ordinary review may fail to do justice either to the work of the authors or to the views of their likely critics. Even to try seems impertinent for a reviewer without research experience in the developing areas. Nevertheless the book is plainly meant for students of comparative politics generally. As Almond states at the end of a rigorous methodological introduction, the work's approach implies "the obsolescence of the present-day divisions of the study of politics into American, European, Asiatic, Middle Eastern, African, and Latin American 'area studies.' " Equipped with new and less institutionally oriented tools of analysis, political scientists are urged to comprehend non-Western as well as Western politics on the route to a general theory of political systems. Sagely, Almond grants that our first reaction to the magnitude of the task is "to blink and withdraw in pain."

No doubt some will withdraw from the intellectual demands of the book. Its scope alone is forbidding, except perhaps to the avid graduate student. "Developing areas" here include almost all of the tropical world plus a good deal more. There are sections of approximately equal length, and approximately equal merit, on Southeast Asia (Lucian W. Pye), South Asia (Myron Weiner), Sub-Saharan Africa (James S. Coleman), the Near East broadly defined (Dankwart A. Rustow), and Latin America (George I. Blanksten). Each section includes information from several, usually many, countries, but organized topically rather than country-by-country. Furthermore, the conceptual vocabulary is not that of traditional political science. Following the pattern of analysis explained in Almond's introduction, each author discusses 1) background, 2) processes of change, 3) political groups and political functions, 4) governmental structures and authoritative functions, and 5) political integration (really a summary for each section). Under the first two headings, the material is general and historical, and it usually makes the easiest and most appealing reading. The third of the five sub-sections, however, is always the longest and most impressive; its considerable informational content—too much for the uninitiated reader to absorb all at once—relates to parties, interest groups, interest articulation, interest aggregation, political socialization and recruitment, and political communication. On the other hand, the fourth sub-section is always brief for the reason, explicitly recognized, that governmental structures in non-Western areas are often indeterminate and usually differ widely from constitutional or legal norms. The effect of the space allotment is to emphasize the non-governmental political process. Here too it is granted that systematic analysis is complicated by a still imperfect integration of the process.

In his substantial concluding section, Coleman uses the same method to summarize the book that he and his co-authors have used in their separate area sections. He classifies the large number of political systems already analyzed, and presents a functional profile of each class. In this concern for classification as a means of ordering the political phenomena represented by entire systems, Coleman's concluding section resembles the characteristic efforts in each area section to develop useful taxonomic schemes for parties, party systems, and interest groups.

Throughout the work classification and generalization rest specifically on the assumption that there is a modern political system, defined as having certain properties and represented by advanced Western democracies. The nations of the developing areas stand in varying relations to this modern system. For example, developing nations have relatively modern party arrangements when parties perform the aggregative function in ways similar to those of American and British parties. At this point the authors would be challenged by the area specialist whose cardinal virtue is cultural immersion. Why, he would ask, should there be a universal developmental pattern derived from a portion of Western experience, rather than unique patterns of development for each society or for groups of new societies? Certainly the authors would not yet claim to answer this question with complete confidence in the durability of their concepts. Further experience may modify the frame of reference. What they can do, and have done with care and sophistication, is to develop tentatively, from existing knowledge of Western politics as well as from the already impressive though smaller body of knowledge of non-Western politics, a set of conceptual terms that allows an ordering of data essential to scientific endeavor. On this score alone, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* is an outstanding contribution to political science.

LEON D. EPSTEIN
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Contemporary Theory in International Relations. EDITED BY STANLEY H. HOFFMANN. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 1960. Pp. x, 293. $4.95).

Few practitioners, or even scholars, realize how extensive the material bearing on theories of international relations has become. Significant contributions have been made from many quarters. Some of these have been presented in well-known books, such as E. H. Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1939) and Hans J. Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Knopf, 1948), but most of the essentially theoretical studies have appeared in professional journals of limited circulation or in obscure and little read monographs. In recent months, however, several very useful collections of materials relating to theories of international relations have been published. Perhaps the best of these is the volume edited by Stanley H. Hoffmann.

The title is misleading. Few of the selections are really significant theoretical contributions. Most of them are *approaches* to a theory or theories of international relations, or methodological essays, overlaid with a series of critical prefatory comments by the editor. According to Professor Hoffmann, "the main contemporary theories of international relations" are the "realist" theory of power politics, which he identifies with Professor Morgenthau, philosophies of history, such as those expressed over the years by Professor Toynbee, "systems theory," whose chief exponent in the field of international relations is Morton Kaplan (this theory often leads to the development of mathematical models and to the theory of games of strategy), George Liska's equilibrium theory, and the decision-making approach to the study of international politics, identified chiefly with Richard C. Snyder. Professor Hoffmann holds that the "realist" theory reduces the study of international relations "to a formalized ballet," is "too static," and has only a "limited" usefulness "as a general theory for the discipline" (p. 35). Philosophies of history end "in the sky, not in a theory for international relations" (p. 39). "Systems theory" "springs from a misunderstanding of the natural sciences" (p. 42), "uses totally inappropriate techniques" (p. 44), "involves some fantastic assumptions" (p. 45), and is at best "a huge misstep in the right direction" (p. 40). The equilibrium theory "is both too broad and too narrow to serve as a useful central tool" (p. 51). The decision-making approach "might be right for foreign-policy analysis, but it is too weak for the rest of international relations" (p. 53).

Having cheerfully conducted what he calls frankly "a wrecking operation," Professor Hoffmann turns from "theories" to "suggestions." A statement on the jacket of the book claims that he "offers an original program of systematic research for the future." In fact, what he does is to suggest two directions of research, emphasizing historical sociology and the relation between political philosophy and international problems. These are useful suggestions, but they are not "original," nor do they provide a "program of systematic research." The excellent selections from Raymond Aron, Herbert Kelman, Ernst B. Haas, Arnold Wolfers, and E. H. Carr, which are included in this section of the book, are reminders that significant work is already being done in these two fields.

The selections in this volume are indicative of the progress that has been made in the study of international relations, and, even though they do not add up to a theory, they illustrate significant approaches with which every student of the subject should be familiar. Unhappily, many of the leading contributors to the field, some of whom are represented in this collection, are writing in an almost unintelligible jargon. They would do well to heed this gentle reminder of Professor Wolfers: "Sometimes the scientifically minded scholar of today may turn out to be merely more pedantic in his formulations and less afraid of belaboring the obvious" (p. 243). The selections by Raymond Aron, Wolfers, and E. H. Carr are evidence that it is possible to combine profundity of thought with intelligibility of expression and grace of style. This is a lesson which many contemporary students of international affairs have not yet learned.

NORMAN D. PALMER
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The Political Economy of National Security. BY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1960. ix, 292. $5.00).

In a world in which the United States cannot hope to devise absolute security, choices on national security issues are choices among hazards. Risking, as they do, the welfare and defense of our body politic, they are *ipso facto* political choices. Professor Schlesinger states in his introduction that professional advice, either military or economic, can only cast a light on policy; it cannot determine it. He undertakes to bring together "all of the major security issues confronting the West in the area of economic policy." In so doing he criticizes the frequent misrepresentation of economic analysis as a justification for past and present policies. He particularly questions the stress which has been given to the importance of economic growth and of economic potential. Most readers will feel he has added to the usefulness of his book by also raising challenging questions about the soundness of some existent policies.

The first half of the book discusses the application of the tools of economic analysis to resource allocation for national security, the strategic meaning today of economic capacity, some discussion on management of our economy in a military emergency, and problems of our national security budget. The author develops a sound case for the utility of the marginal analysis approach in weighting resource costs and in choosing among alternative strategies and implementing programs. Like Klaus Knorr in *War Potential of Nations,* he emphasizes the importance of qualitative aspects of economic capacity—flexibility, structure and real rate of output growth.

Professor Schlesinger has not given a completely comprehensive discussion of all the problems that might reasonably fall under his title, nor could any author be expected to do so in a book of this length. He gives scant attention to indirect stabilization controls and to problems of mobilizing resources in an emergency. He does not deal with organizational and administrative problems or with the related problem of the political economy of alliances. Nor is the impact of scientific and technological advances on both military requirements and policy given the emphasis and analysis it deserves from the author's standpoint.

The second half of the book consists of an epilogue entitled *Common Sense in the Contemporary Power Struggle* and a discussion of three topics: international trade, the economic growth of the USSR and its implications for U. S. security, and the related problems of economic growth and political stability in underdeveloped countries. The author's discussion of the last topic puts him in a thought-stimulating argument with the approach to development and economic assistance often associated with Professors Rostow and Millikan of MIT. He does not examine the program having the most complicated integration of security, political and economic considerations—the military assistance program.

The strategy of security presented in the book suggests that we accept that the West lives in an increasingly hostile world and that Communism will advance in Asia. This probable eventuality is viewed with some equanimity. "Our international goal should be the limited one of achieving security for both ourselves and allied Western nations if possible." This is a sort of Atlantic Community isolationism. "The road to Paris lies through Bonn and Sedan; if the West remains strong there is no other path. Consequently, we must maintain sufficient power to defend our vital interests, and the outcome of the struggle in Asia may be viewed with a certain detachment." Your reviewer agrees with the stress on the importance of the Atlantic Community but does not believe the book makes a convincing case for a detached attitude toward Asia, or Africa—or a proof that retreat is common sense. It is useful to stress, as the author does, our difficult situation in the world. But it is questionable that we should accept massive strategic withdrawals without first trying to work through the unpredictable future with a policy of a global forward strategy.

There have been too few books since World War II on the political economy of national security. Professor Schlesinger's contribution is a needed milestone on a road too little marked by the efforts of scholarly analysis. It provides useful formulae for rational analysis, a negative debate brief, a type of catalytic agent, to stimulate questions in the minds of those who have accepted many of our policies, or the reasons for and against, without rigorous analysis. There is no more important area than national security for study and writing. What we really need is a "three-headed" type of scholar, able to integrate and adjust political factors and objectives, military strategy, and economic analysis.

George A. Lincoln
United States Military Academy

Oil and State in the Middle East. By George Lenczowski. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 379. $6.75.)

The past three years have seen a rise in the flood of writings about Middle Eastern oil. There has also been marked improvement. The impressionistic pieces of the late 1940's and the post-Abadan polemics are now being superseded by more careful studies. Typical are Stephen Longrigg's *Oil in Iraq,* Benjamin Shwadran's *The Middle East, Oil and the Great*

Powers and David Finnie's *Desert Enterprise: The Middle East Oil Industry in its Local Environment.* As oilmen, Longrigg and Finnie obviously have a somewhat different view of good and evil in the Middle East than does Shwadran, a practicing Zionist. Yet despite differing interpretations, all have produced books which no serious student of the Middle East can disregard.

So, too, has George Lenczowski. He writes from a most unusual vantage point. As diplomat in Iran (for the pre-World War II Polish Government) he saw the relationships between the old Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and Iran. Later, as an emigré Professor at an American college and now at the University of California, he has added knowledge of the Arab producing and pipeline transit countries to his earlier competence. Still more recently, he has served as consultant to major oil company interests in the area.

The result is a highly useful book. It is drawn from many sources—Middle Eastern government documents and local newspapers, United Nations and O.E.E.C. publications, books by Western and Middle Eastern writers, interviews with oilmen and government officials. The author divides his study into four main parts, the general setting, companies and host governments, companies and the public in the host countries and companies and employees in the host countries. He ends by pulling it all together with a case study of the relationships between the many participants in the Suez Canal controversy. The central theme elaborates the uncertainties besetting companies in the Middle East and the equally complicated problems of local governments increasingly dependent upon oil exports for economic and political stability.

The main strength of Professor Lenczowski's book is its encyclopedic character, its guide to readings and its calm objectivity. Yet having attacked on such a broad front, the author obviously will be subject to some criticism. His sections on integration (*e.g.*, company efforts to create local enterprise around the oil camps) add little to what David Finnie has already written. Ardent Zionists won't like his sympathetic treatment of oil companies. Many British oilmen will query his interpretation of troubles between Saudi Arabia and Oman as basically a local political squabble—they see the Arabian American Oil Company as an active behind-the-scenes participant in the troubles. The study says little about pricing of Middle East petroleum products. Yet despite its occasional shortcomings, the book is a thoroughly competent job which cannot be overlooked by government officials, oilmen and the growing number of experts on the Middle East.

A. J. MEYER

Harvard University

The Costs of Democracy. BY ALEXANDER HEARD. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 493. $6.00).

Since 1953, with the aid of research grants and the advantage of serving as consultant to the Gore Committee, the author of this study has been able to "forage far and wide" to assemble his material. What emerges is a work of major importance and an example of group research at its best. Although the "anatomy and physiology of campaign finance" are its focus, it covers a much broader canvas, expanding into a theory of parties and political action.

Mr. Heard summarizes his thesis in an introductory chapter and follows this by an analysis of the "five major phases of campaign finance": the effect of expenditures on the outcome of elections; the "significance of contributing as a form of political action and as an avenue of preferment"; sources of campaign funds; how funds are raised, and the effect on intra-party relationships; existing regulations and "Policies for the Future."

The title of the book strikes a positive note which is stressed throughout. Mr. Heard argues that "the expenses of nominating and electing public officials are among the inevitable costs of democracy," and that if the necessary funds are to be obtained in "socially healthy ways" there must be public recognition of the "functional utility" of campaign expenditures, and a re-orientation of regulation along positive lines. His concluding chapter is a full, well-balanced discussion of possible lines of attack. He emphasizes the need for piecemeal action on several fronts, and views "affirmatively" the following possibilities: cash subsidies to parties and candidates by federal and state governments; government subsidies of campaign communications; government regulation of television and radio broadcasting to reduce costs and make broadcasting opportunities more nearly equal among opponents; tax incentives; community drives for financial support; statutes designed to achieve *effective* disclosures of campaign finance; limitations on an individual's aggregate political gifts; prohibitions against direct contributions by corporations and labor unions. He argues that ceilings on committee expenditures tend to discourage full reporting and may, if breached repeatedly, undermine rather than strengthen confidence in the political process.

Both in scope and depth this not merely is a continuation of earlier studies but breaks new ground. Mr. Heard's approach to corporate giving, labor's participation in political finance, and "underworld money" is fresh and provocative. And he opens up important new problems in his discussion of the role of solicitors as middlemen (ch. 10), fund raising and party cohesion (ch. 11), and the dependence of party organs on "commercial politicians" (pp. 413–428). Among the noteworthy features of the final chapter are discussions of the 1957 Puerto Rican act providing cash subsidies for campaign purposes, and an ingenious political money order plan for administering federal tax deductions to contributors. Mr. Heard emphasizes that money has its greatest impact on the *nomination* of candidates. Finding ways to assist able contestants to meet basic needs in nominating campaigns is not dealt with specifically and this remains one of the areas in which the study raises more questions than it answers. The role of local party clubs and preprimary conventions in California and some other states might be worth exploring in this connection. These groups, which operate outside the formal party organization imposed by state law, assist aspirants to win recognition in direct primary campaigns by recruiting leadership, seeking out and supporting able talent, and raising funds.

In his initial chapter Mr. Heard raises the question: "What can be built with so few bricks, and most of them uneven, made with little straw?" In endeavoring to overcome these limitations a staggering number of "bricks" have been assembled. His treatment of this diffuse material is discriminating and sophisticated; his documentation and use of statistical tables are impressive; and the felicity of style, apt turn of phrase, and touches of humor add to the readability of the volume. But the pattern of organization he has chosen to follow inevitably involves some repetition, and the lengthy footnotes and statistical tables in the text may discourage some readers. This material is important and interesting but some of it might have been relegated to appendixes without lessening the value of the work to the specialist. These are minor points; what is important is that Mr. Heard has given us a distinguished study in a difficult area of research that is unlikely to be superseded for many years to come.

LOUISE OVERACKER
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Governing New York City. BY WALLACE S. SAYRE and HERBERT KAUFMAN. (N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. 815. $8.50.)

No one needs to be told that the visible City of New York is both an exciting and a bewildering place. But to attempt to comprehend how and by whom this enormous democratic (and Democratic) city is governed is a bold task. Perhaps this alone explains why, until now, the task has never been seriously attempted. Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman have faced up to this task resolutely. They have given us no mere manual of the city's complex governmental organization either as conceived by the charter which created that mechanism or as administered by the quarter of a million officials and public employees who operate it. Rather they have realistically sought to discover and describe the political-governmental process with all its warts, rewards and rivalries. They have undertaken to ask: "(1) What are politics in New York about? (2) Who are the participants? (3) How do the participants go about getting what the system offers?"

Part I is principally concerned with the stakes, the prizes of office, who gets what the city spends, who pays the bill, who are the contestants. These the authors find to be (1) the party leaders, (2) the officials, (3) the bureaucrats, (4) the nongovernment groups, and (5) the electorate. Part II presents the strategies of the politicians and officials who nominate or appoint those who run the city government. Part III (ten of the volume's twenty chapters) deals with the strategies of these party and public officials and the many groups which, with varying degrees of success, seek to influence them in shaping governmental decisions. It describes, too, the agencies, independent authorities, bureaucrats and finally the City Council, Board of Estimate and office of the Mayor.

To jump, as the authors frequently do, to their conclusions, it appears that the city has "a multicentered system" of government and politics in which every proposal for change has to run a gauntlet. This system of separate and numerous "islands of power" is more favorable to the *status quo* than to innovators. Its leaders are hesitant to move vigorously against extensive opposition of individuals or groups. The system is not only tolerant of differences but actually engenders respect for differences. The authors find, moreover, that the city's system has been "unexpectedly creative and adaptive in its six decades." These conclusions are sound but hardly surprising.

The authors tell us that they had initially intended to cite their documentary sources in detail but concluded that the volume of such references would be "unwieldy and of dubious utility" and that they drew from party leaders, officials, civic and other leaders, journalists and informed observers and (generously) on their own experiences and observations. In partial substitution, they have provided excellent bibliographies for each of their twenty chapters.

The authors' free-wheeling use of sources has its perils. To take but one example, they make some startling statements concerning judges. A subsection on judicial decisions (p. 467) begins with the assertion, "The opportunities and capacities of party leaders to influence decisions in the judiciary also vary widely," and the paragraph ends by saying "Democratic party leaders have superior access most of the time to the lower courts in the city; Republican leaders share opportunities more equally in the higher courts." We are further told in a footnote (p. 542) that "It is rumored among lawyers that there is a 'going rate' for judgeships, currently the equivalent of two years' salary for that office." And on p. 528, there is a bold-face heading JUDGES AS DISTRIBUTORS OF PRIZES and we are told that "At one time or another virtually every possible combination of those identified as contestants for the rewards of governmental action appear in the courts. And the judges, in deciding the questions at issue, in effect employ governmental authority in such a way as to allocate some of the prizes." In the succeeding paragraph four cases are cited as illustrations of this.

To conclude on the basis of such evidence that the judges of the Court of Appeals (New York State's highest court) in this case (or the Appellate Division, First Department, in this or the rent control case) *distribute* their decisions as *prizes* in the great game of politics seems hardly to rise above the level of innuendo. Moreover, this picture fails to present the role of the courts in making the government of New York a government of law. The New York law affords a unique and easy access of the citizen or taxpayer to the courts. Article 78 of the New York Civil Practice Act (a proceeding to compel a public officer to perform a duty), or a taxpayer's action to challenge the misapplication of public funds, gives almost any one (or any group) the right to challenge officialdom. If I may be permitted to cite personal observation, I have held public office and have had my own official acts challenged in several thousand such proceedings. I did not always agree when the judge called me "arbitrary and capricious" but I never doubted the wisdom of the process nor the integrity of the judges who administered it.

Sizeable as this volume is, eight hundred pages is hardly enough to encompass the activities not only of a city government which is now costing $2,500,000,000 a year to operate but the political organization of three political parties in five counties that marshall an electorate of 2,500,000 and the kaleidoscope of taxpayer, economic, social, racial and religious groupings which hourly exert pressures on both the army of officials and the army of politicians, several thousand of whom serve in both armies, and operate these complex governmental and political mechanisms. There is so much to include and describe and so much is, in fact, included and so well described that it is hard to blame our authors for omissions. Yet for all the references to Tammany, there is not even a brief account of the Tammany Society founded in 1789 which flourished until the 1930's, or of Tammany Hall which stood from 1867 to 1929 on Fourteenth Street so that even the name of the street became a synonym for political power as Fiftieth Street has long been for Catholic power. For the past twenty years there has been no Tammany Society and no Tammany Hall, yet today's party leaders, and the elected officials whom they sponsor, still have to answer for the misdeeds of those who preceded them 30 to 90 years ago!

There is no description of the organization of religious groups, and but a few scattered references to the manner in which or the subjects upon which they exercise their influence. We are told (p. 26) that 45 percent (three and one-half millions) of the population are adherents of the Roman Catholic Church as compared with 25 percent each for the Jewish and Protestant groups. We are also told (p.69) that "The hierarchical structure and unity of the Roman Catholic Church, as contrasted with the decentralized and divided character of the Protestant and Jewish faiths, makes the informal support of diocesan and archdiocesan officers especially valuable to candidates," and we are told (p. 683) that of 36 nominees for mayor since 1897, 18 have been Protestant, 13 Catholic and 5 Jewish. I concede that a volume the size of this one might be required for a comprehensive treatment of this subject. Yet in terms of population and the electorate these are the most important groupings, perhaps more important than the more numerous national-racial patterns or the unorganized income-class patterns. It would certainly be in order to explain that the New York-Bronx-Richmond and the Brooklyn-Queens dioceses are organically independent of each other, as at least one non-Catholic governor and one non-Catholic mayor discovered when they relied only on the advice of Fiftieth Street as to the school bus and bingo issues. And it seems quite a mouthful to attempt to swallow in one gulp as Protestants, St. Bartholomew's, the Marble Collegiate, the Brick Presbyterian, the Abyssinian Baptist, and such spiritual leaders as Norman Vincent Peale, Daniel A. Poling and Adam Clayton Powell, the late John Haynes Holmes and Bishop Manning, together with hundreds of little store-front churches and inglesia pentecostal. And what about Temple Emanuel and the late Rabbi Stephen Wise of the Free Synagogue and the hundreds of independent synagogues, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform?

The biggest gap is failure to provide an adequate discussion of the electorate, No. 5 among the categories of the participants in the city's political contest and "the core group for electoral decisions, where it has a virtual monopoly" (p. 710). Since the basic unit of political organization is the Assembly District, it makes a difference whether a group is geographically scattered like labor union members or in concentrations as are many racial or national groups. There are tables showing the city-wide figures of the population by age, sex and color and the growth of borough populations by decades, but these and a few other scattered references do not present an adequate picture of the electorate.

I have no wish to detract from the solid content and sound concept of the Sayre-Kaufman work. Their volume is boldly conceived. What they have given is sometimes copiously and, usually, competently presented. It is a magnificent achievement. They and the Russell Sage Foundation who sponsored, supported and published this volume are to be warmly congratulated.

Joseph D. McGoldrick

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Presidential Power. By Richard E. Neustadt. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1960. Pp. xiii, 224. $5.95.)

Richard E. Neustadt's *Presidential Power* is an extended essay built around a group of case studies of recent Presidents in action. He is not trying to analyze the Presidency constitutionally or administratively, or the Presidents generally as political leaders; he is instead considering, in the words of his subtitle, *The Politics of Leadership*—the arts by which a President keeps on top in fact as well as in name.

Those concerned with administration as an art as well as a science have long since shown how the lack of administrative support for a Chief Executive can leave him powerless in practice, no matter what the constitutional lawyers say. Now comes Dr. Neustadt, who did his most important postgraduate work in the Bureau of the Budget and the White House Office, to warn political executives against even those who try to organize their administrative offices for them. It is not merely the Cabinet officers who are, in the classic phrase, the President's natural enemies; if the staff of the White House and the Executive Office are less so, he suggests, it is only because they have a less firm basis from which to fight their chief.

A half-dozen or so vignettes of policy development supply the raw material for the analysis. While it is not hard to see that Dr. Neustadt retains his affection for his old boss President Truman, and considers President Eisenhower a good man and a hero who as a political amateur should not have become President, he uses his case studies from the two administrations with a reasonable degree of objectivity. As he tells the story of the disagreement over the 1958–59 budget, on which the Secretary of the Treasury damaged the President's influence by opposing his recommendations, he draws the same moral that he draws from the earlier incident when President Truman changed his war aims in Korea to include the unification of the country under non-Communist rule: "that nobody and nothing helps a President to see save as he helps himself; that neither issues nor advisers as they reach him are a substitute for sensitivity to power on his part" (p. 122). Each of President Truman's experts had some special personal reason not to warn the President, and "the net result was a neglect of the one sphere of expertise where 'experts' were laymen: the sphere of personal power for the President himself" (p. 148).

Dr. Neustadt is not unaware of the necessities which produced the "institutionalized Presidency," the staff support for the President-as-clerk. He is only concerned with reminding us that institutions do not solve the central problem of personal political power. He argues, indeed, that President Eisenhower's orderly staff system was "disastrous for his hold on personal power" (p. 159), and that Truman, who believed equally in orderly staff work, was saved only because, while he "theorized like a reserve officer impressed with Army doctrine; he acted like a Senator"—except that "he loved to make decisions" (p. 172).

Leaving aside the inevitable questions regarding the author's personal and partisan preferences among the Presidents, the main reason some political scientists may be dissatisfied with this book is that it is not completely systematic, and not very scientific. A thorough study of any of the several cases sketched in the book would be longer than the book itself. They are easily subject to so many varying interpretations that no one could argue that they prove, in any definitive sense, the author's conclusions. They are only illustrative. But they illustrate them with cogency, and the author handles them with deftness, wit, and insight. He does not hesitate to interpret them in the light of the personality and temperament of the Presidents, as best he can make them out, and the way in which they seem to picture themselves in the judgment of history.

People who insist on cluttering up their books with these non-objective aspects will never make politics into a science. They may now and then, however, write very good books on the major problems of politics, and of politicians in high places. Dr. Neustadt, it seems to me, has written one of the better ones, and has set a high standard for the more systematic and less sophisticated students who are sure to tackle the same subject in the future.

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The Soviet Citizen. By A. Inkeles and R. A. Bauer. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 532. $10.00.)

This volume is the most detailed report yet published by the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System and is a sequel to *How the Soviet System Works* written by Bauer, Inkeles and Kluckhohn. The earlier volume, a *tour de force* in certain respects, dealt with the general characteristics of Soviet rule and its strengths and weaknesses. The present volume has the subtitle *Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society* and deals with life experiences in the school, home and place of employment as well as with attitudes, values and beliefs. It is based primarily on a written questionnaire administered to a random sample of approximately 2,700 former Soviet citizens most of whom were in Germany, although more than 600 completed the questionnaire in the United States. Life history oral interview data (from 329 respondents) and published sources are employed in addition to the coded questionnaire data from which most of the volume's 101 statistical tables are derived.

The authors devote the first three chapters to methodological considerations, explain the history of the Refugee Interview Project and meet squarely the questions dealing with sample bias on the part of the Project administration and response bias on the part of the "non-returners" to Soviet rule. Limitations and obscurities in the data are scrupulously discussed and the dated aspects are supplemented and corrected where necessary. The Project never assumed that a representative cross section of the Soviet population could be obtained from the émigré community; all that was wanted was a sample which would provide a sufficient number of respondents in the various sub-groups which were to be compared.

The unique opportunity to obtain these data (with the financial support of the United States Government) is underscored by the fact that Soviet citizens are not available at present in sufficient numbers for systematic interviewing. Any interview attempted in the Soviet Union of the era of competitive "co-existence" will usually elicit obviously biased answers. Thus the data collected from the Soviet refugees in 1950–1951 are still of great value not only because they provide a yardstick by which to measure change in recent years but also because many of the institutions and policies experienced by the "non-returners" are still present in the Soviet system. It should also be noted that 59 per cent of the refugees in the questionnaire sample left the Soviet Union involuntarily and that two-thirds admitted once having favored the regime. The several hundred thousand émigrés were not misfits in Soviet society and a significant number were privileged; the sample included former Party and Komsomol members, "activists" and persons from nearly every walk of life. The matching of 51 pairs of war-time and post-war defectors and a comparison of their answers showed no appreciable difference in attitudes.

Six of the volume's sixteen chapters deal directly with daily life treating occupational mobility and educational opportunity, earning a livelihood, the acquisition of news, and the nature of family life in the Soviet Union. They indicate that the children of the professional and administrative classes enjoy a higher mobility rate and greater opportunity for higher education than is the case in other strata. The data also indicate that Soviet persons have not crossed class and nationality lines with much frequency in selecting a marriage partner.

Political scientists will be more directly concerned with Part III (The Individual and the State) and Part IV (Sources of Cleavage). The image of the "ideal" state conveyed by the refugee respondents is that of a benevolent "paternalistic state, with extremely wide powers . . . vigorously exercised to guide and control the nation's destiny" but without "arbitrary interference and punishment" (pp. 246f.). It is a welfare state owning heavy industry and transport, engaging in diverse publishing activities, serving as a bearer of "culture" and providing free medical service and education. The changes desired included abolition of the collective farm system (hated by all classes), less state ownership of light industry, elimination of terror, reduction of tempos, and improvement of material living conditions. In discussing loyalty the authors stress the role of the state's monopoly of employment and the "absence of a viable alternative" to the regime as factors causing the subjects to come to terms with it and develop internal "mechanisms for suppressing both disloyal deeds *and thoughts*." Accommodation is the keynote here and apparently bears a relationship to the pattern of child-rearing which in placing the "emphasis on good adjustment, on getting along and staying out of trouble, may be expected to lead to the development of young people who are not too strongly principled, willing to accept the leadership of the regime so long as it seems to provide for the personal needs which they have or will develop" (p. 229). The image of the Party member is not stereotyped in the refugee data, although the interests of the membership and of other strata are not seen as coinciding. Joining the Party is seen as exacting demands as well as conferring some advantages. Considerable diversity in the personal qualities of individual Party members is indicated.

Chapter Fifteen deals with the nationality problem, although it is based primarily on a questionnaire completed by Ukrainian "non-returners." The "dialectical" treatment which the authors employ in analyzing these data points to the enormous complexity of this problem in which appearances have frequently been mistaken for reality. A revealing finding, among many others, is that Ukrainian respondents, as contrasted with Russians, "about twice as often recommend dropping a bomb on Moscow" and the authors note that "it is an almost inescapable conclusion, therefore, that the word *Moscow* elicits a quite different response from large numbers of Ukrainians (and indeed those of other nationalities) as compared to Russians" (p. 353). It is unfortunate that 52 of the 511 completed Ukrainian questionnaires were eliminated from the analysis on the grounds that they were filled out by Western Ukrainians who had lived under Soviet rule less than two years. While this was an understandable decision in view of the Project's immediate purpose it has meant ignoring a parent population of 7 million Western Ukrainians which is now under Soviet rule and constitutes a further complication of the Soviet nationality problem.

A final chapter, which attempts a cautious "dialectical" prognosis, evaluates the totalitarian school of thought versus that of industrialism and evolving "democratization" and expresses doubt as to their absolute validity, although the authors do not categorically rule out a reversion to Stalinist norms. Throughout the study they emphasize, perhaps unduly, certain characteristics of an industrial society which the Soviet Union is said to share with the United States. It is correctly contended that industrialism and totalitarianism are not incompatible, and while change is regarded by the authors as inevitable they do not see it as affecting the regime's long-range goals and warn against relying upon the hope of an "erosion" of totalitarianism since the basic features of the Soviet system have not yet been sacrificed.

This volume has been written with great care and contains many statistical indices. One error, undoubtedly typographical, is that the Party had 24,000 members "just before" it seized power (p. 322); actually the membership was closer to ten times this number in October 1917. This hardly detracts from a volume which will be of value not only to students of the Soviet system but to those of totalitarian dictatorship in general. The appendices contain the texts of the interviewing instrument and the principal written questionnaire, and the volume will be of great interest to anyone concerned with problems of social science interviewing.

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Political Man. BY SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET. (New York: Doubleday and Company.) 1959. Pp. 432. $4.95.

There is much in this set of essays to commend it—the publication of new research into European political behavior, the re-examination of the ideas of many writers, and the author's own political theories. But this is also a book which generates uneasiness. For it epitomizes the dilemmas and dangers of a certain type of social science writing today. Some distinguishing marks of this trend are: an impulse to generalize in some limited factual setting; impatience with the rigorous testing of theory; nonchalance in the appropriation of non-equivalent, comparative data; and the difficulty in collating interdisciplinary knowledge. The result may be a theoretical synthesis, but with only the appearance of evidential validation. *Political Man*, while admirable in many respects, still must be judged in this genre. It is supposed to test theory.

Lipset's work is a study of "the social conditions making for democracy" in the West in the hope that this clarification "may contribute to the political battle in Asia and Africa." His major concern is to "focus on the sources of both cleavage and consensus," both allegedly necessary for democracy. The book is presented as the type of systematic analysis which the political sociologist can contribute (pp. 9–10). It consists of a series of articles previously written, in addition to some new chapters, the whole edited and organized so as to convey the impression of unity.

There are four parts to the book plus an introductory chapter on "The Sociology of Politics" and a personal postscript. In the introduction there is an interesting discussion of the four great forefathers of modern political sociology (Marx, Tocqueville, Weber and Michels). Their theories are examined by Lipset in terms of their contribution to the consensus-cleavage problem, his central concern. Tocqueville is praised for being the first exponent of the concept of a balance between cleavage and consensus as necessary for a viable democracy.

In Part I, the author discusses the conditions of the democratic order, emphasizing particularly economic development and "legitimacy." A typology of democracies based on the concept of "stability" is developed. A host of indices of wealth, industrialization, education and urbanization are then correlated thereto. Impressive as these data are (especially if one uses the averages and not the ranges) more "developmental analysis" is certainly needed before the close affinity of these variables can be accepted causally.

The chapter on "legitimacy" is a suggestive theoretical piece. Legitimacy is defined as the "capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief" in itself. However, Lipset falls into a serious contradiction here by failing to integrate the political-institutional arrangements of a society into this concept. He makes the arbitrary value judgment that the multi-party system, PR, and the unitary state weaken democracy, although in many democratic societies these institutions are part of the belief structure and through them cleavage is "managed" and legitimacy maintained.

Working-Class authoritarianism and Middle-Class fascism, two anti-democratic "threats," are the subjects for two subsequent chapters. These are admirable efforts in aggregating comparative data, but sometimes result in rather daring inferential leaps. For example using responses to a question which could certainly be criticized, the fact that unskilled and skilled workers in Germany in 1953 were less supportive of the multi-party system than those in the upper economic strata is presented as "evidence" of the former groups' anti-democratic attitudes (p. 102). Such an interpretation is tenable only when related to the individual's other perceptions of, and orientations to politics.

In Part II, "Voting in Western Democracies' and Part III, "Political Behavior in American Society" there follows a series of discussions on various aspects of political life. As individua "think-pieces" which review available data and which enunciate the author's theoretical orientations, they have merit. As parts of a "convergent analysis" based on adequate data and leading to a coherent interpretation of American or European politics, they are wanting. The preoccupation of the author with the "class struggle" in the United States is certainly not borne out by the data here reviewed, nor by the work of others who have analyzed meticulously the voting behavior of the 1952 and 1956 elections. The concept of "cross-pressures," heavily relied on, leads sometimes to peculiar interpretive paradoxes. For example, we are led down the following path of reasoning: the "open society" is good; it is a society which increases cross-pressures; cross-pressures "serve democracy"; but cross-pressures reduce political participation; and "high participation . . . normally has higher potential for democracy." In this connection, perhaps a re-examination of the data on the effects on participation of upward social mobility would help.

There is much in this book which is perceptive. The synthesis of data was needed. The section on France under De Gaulle, on the 1860 election in the South, on the role of the intellectuals in America, and on the lack of democracy in trade unions (Part IV), for which the author has been previously lauded, are very rewarding reading. But there is some conceptual fuzziness (see the definition of "democracy," p. 45), and empirical juggling here which mars the acceptability of interpretations. This is no doubt due in part to the difficulty in the juxtaposition of hypotheses with the kinds of comparative data on politics available today. But, while one must be cautious in applying the analytical findings and interpretations of this work, it is still a good book in social and political theory.

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Planning for Freedom: The Public Law of American Capitalism. By EUGENE V. ROSTOW. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 437. $6.00.)

The subtitle of this book by the Dean of the Yale Law School describes its contents more aptly than the general title. While the book is permeated with Dean Rostow's dedication to freedom, it is not a call for more systematic or direct government planning of economic activities. To Dean Rostow, planning means the wise use of the government's fiscal and monetary powers to govern the volume of aggregate economic demand and hence the level of output and employment. What freedom means is not spelled out in detail, but it is in general the absence of excessive constraint in determining one's fate.

The first broad problem Dean Rostow addresses is whether the legal and economic institutions of the United States are competent to serve the ends of the Employment Act of 1946. Although he makes a number of keen suggestions for minor changes, his conclusion is that we are in good position to achieve high levels of employment. His second question is whether the American government can, while sustaining full employment, also foster free competitive enterprise. His answer is again affirmative, and fortunately so, since he finds freedom to be impossible without capitalism.

Although he writes as an economist no less than as a lawyer, the author recognizes that economic ends are means to broader, noneconomic goals. But he cannot entirely escape the magic of the market as the ultimate technique for allocating values: "The concept of competitive equilibrium is the clearest definition of efficiency in the use of resources so far devised" (p. 362). Is it truly the height of efficiency to dedicate our energies to making Americans the most deodorized, lanolin-impregnated, chlorophyll-flavored people in all history? Even in narrow economic terms, as the author says, the per cent of income a society devotes to research, education, and capital construction will determine its capacity for long-term growth. Dean Rostow advocates more government aids for education and research, but he suggests nothing that would shift our capital construction from products that meet economic demands to products that meet societal needs. He cannot accept direct government controls because they violate the idea of a free market and, ultimately, the idea of a free society: "neither political nor social freedom for the individual . . . can be imagined without the working reality of American capitalism" (p. 30).

Only in talking about socialism in general terms does the author resort to such chauvinism. And, since he defines socialism in terms of the Soviet model, his vehemence is understandable—until one begins to wonder how various socialist democracies qualify as practitioners of "American capitalism." The immoderate nature of Rostow's remarks on the relationship of capitalism to democracy does not set the tone of the entire book. His approach to various alternatives within the assumptions of established legal and economic practices is judicious, good-humored, and well informed.

To read such assurances as that "the antitrust laws are to a considerable extent self-enforcing" (p. 307) may come as a surprise to those who assume that corporate counsel are able to find a new loophole while their earlier attempts to circumvent the law are still under litigation. But Dean Rostow reminds us that, if we had the rationality [and, I would add, the power relations] necessary to achieve various reforms, they would hardly be needed. Since major reforms are improbable, such a well-informed discussion of the present system is welcome fare.

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The Political Reason of Edmund Burke. By FRANCIS CANAVAN. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1960. pp. xvi, 222. $5.00.)

That Edmund Burke's attack on the revolutionary ideology of the eighteenth century has contemporary relevance is evidenced by the widespread attention his writings have recently received, and indeed a serious work dealing with the basis of Burke's political science deserves our careful attention. This work claims to present "a more detailed analysis" of Burke's conception of reason in politics than has yet been made, and as such is offered as a contribution to the "current reinterpretation" of his political philosophy (p. ix). The "current reinterpretation" is being directed, we are told, against those students of Burke who have understood, or attempted to understand, his political thought as "a form of utilitarianism and empiricism" (p. 3). This particular interpretation seeks to show that Burke "took (his) premises from the intellectualist metaphysic of the classical and medieval tradition," rather than from the British empirical tradition (p. ix). But we soon learn that "medieval Christian Aristotelianism" provides the basic premises only for Burke's "mature political thought" or his "properly political writings" as distinguished from his earlier writings. In fact, "it is doubtful that Burke's epistemology, as it appears in his early writings, was compatible with the metaphysic implied in his moral and political theory" (p. 45). But, as far as his later writings are concerned, Burke stated and used a "full-blown theory of natural law" in its medieval form (pp. 18, ix). Still, as Father Canavan observes, the later writings themselves present certain problems as, for example, Burke's strictures against metaphysics, speculation, and theory. On this point, the author assures us, we need not worry for Burke's attack "really has nothing to do with formal metaphysical thought as such," but is simply directed against what he regarded as the "doctrinaire mentality," or more generally stated, seventeenth-eighteenth century rationalism (p. 46). Father Canavan offers the following quotation from Burke as one of his "more balanced appraisals of theory" (p. 47): "I do not vilify theory and speculation—no, because that would be to vilify reason itself. . . . No; whenever I speak against theory, I mean always a weak, fallacious, unfounded, or imperfect theory; and one of the ways of discovering that it is a false theory, is by comparing it with practice. This is the true touchstone of all theories, which regard man and the affairs of men,—Does it suit his nature in general?—does it suit his nature as modified by his habits?" This statement, which is Burke's seemingly most outspoken defense of theory, is itself somewhat ambiguous, for it might be interpreted as giving either an Aristotelian or a pragmatic definition to theory, depending upon what Burke meant when he said that theories suit man's "nature in general." We may properly ask whether this one statement, even if it were to support the contention of Father Canavan, could be regarded as one of Burke's "more balanced" appraisals of theory, when it is so abundantly outweighed by his outspoken *attack* on theory proper in the main body of his "properly political writings," not to mention his open *rejection* of theory in his only theoretical writing on the *Sublime and Beautiful*?

In his Preface, Father Canavan states that he has tried to "avoid passing judgment" on the "soundness" or "accuracy" of Burke's estimate of "(the) great issues of (his) political career," namely, the American crisis, British rule in Ireland, the French Revolution and its effect on radical ideology in Great Britain, and the trial of Warren Hastings. He says that he does not have, or at least refuses to claim, "sufficient knowledge or historical competence to say with certainty . . . whether Burke was right or wrong" (p. x). But, we may ask, in studying the political thought of a man like Burke, are we not obliged to examine what he did as well as to read what he said? Would it not be very important to consider the wisdom of what Burke was trying to get done? Unless we considered the truth or merit of the opinions he held on the "great issues" of his political career, how could we make an adequate appraisal of the principles on which his practical applications rested? But Father Canavan is too thoughtful a student of Burke to maintain throughout this unwillingness to comment on Burke's practical applications, and he soon refers to the "impractical rigor" of those who argued from premises of right (p. 25) and to the Anglo-Irish governing class in Ireland as an "oligarchy" laden with "abuses," a "graft-ridden clique" (p. 101). Later on, in fact, he openly admits the necessity of considering practice as well as theory by criticizing Burke's practical position on parliamentary reform as being "inconsistent with his own principles" (p. 188). After all, says Father Canavan, Burke himself had elaborated "the idea of a living and developing constitution, constantly being renewed by reform" (p. 188). "It would be difficult to maintain that Burke's political thought was completely self-consistent. . . . His attitude toward the reform of representation in Parliament does not seem to jibe with his general theory of social and political change" (p. 189). The question immediately arises: If Burke was really inconsistent, as the author claims, why was he inconsistent on this particular issue, and consistent on almost everything else? The answer to this question, says Father Canavan, is the same as the answer to the related question as to why Burke had so great a fear for the future. Burke's fear for the future, his pessimism about the continued success of revolutionary movements, were the "emotional outbursts of a heartsick man" (p. 184), who may have been too quick, "in his fits of depression," to see divine doom pronounced on the old order (p. 186). He so greatly feared the future, Father Canavan explains, because he saw in the French Revolution "a rebellion against God" (p. 187), and this "same fear of an irreverent radicalism also explains much of Burke's opposition to constitutional change"—his "nervous fear of tinkering with the constitution" (pp. 187, 169). In other words, Burke's opposition to constitutional change, according to the author, takes on the character of "emotional outbursts," "fits of depression," "nervous fears" and the like, but that opposition had nothing to do with the theoretical premises on which his properly political writings were based.

Father Canavan does not consider the possibility that Burke was not inconsistent in his opposition to parliamentary reform. If such were the case, would it not force the author to reconsider what he regards as the metaphysical basis of Burke's properly political writings? Now Father Canavan emphatically denies the possibility of Burke's rejection of a natural moral order transcendent to the constitution. "Burke does not imply (by such statements as 'it is a constitution whose sole authority is, that it has existed time out of mind' and 'it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties . . . as an estate belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any more general or prior right') that tradition is the final and self-sufficient standard of social and political judgment" (p. 134). But if no transcendent standard is needed by which the goodness of the British Constitution may be judged, if the standard of the constitution's excellence is not something outside of and above the constitution, but "is inherent in the process" by which it was formed (a view attributed to Burke which Father Canavan emphatically rejects), then Burke's opposition to parliamentary reform was not as inconsistent as it appeared, and we need not assign psychological causes to his "fear of tinkering with the constitution."

In a section entitled "The Nature of Civil Society," Father Canavan argues, on the basis of a quotation from the *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, that Burke presents substantially the same argument for the "naturalness of the state" as Aristotle does (p. 86). But he fails to consider that Burke was more concerned with the naturalness of the coming into being of the state than the naturalness of the structure of that state. Burke believed that the deliberate founding or purposeful making of a political society was less natural than the accidental making of such a society. A political society is better the less it is rationally contrived and the more it is the outcome of accidental causes. This is absolutely opposed to the Aristotelian notion, which took it for granted that the best regime was planned, the work of one wise legislator. The planned regime, says Aristotle, is intrinsically superior to that which comes into being through accident. On the other hand, Burke's notion that the state should thrive by free growth with no rational supervision, was clearly the antithesis of the Aristotelian view, and lends further credence to the contention that Burke rejected a natural moral order transcendent to the constitution.

Father Canavan says, in another place, that the radical ideology against which Burke fought so vigorously was "abstract, rationalistic, and individualistic" and that the "essential characteristic" of this ideology was its "individualism" (pp. 72–73). Now, according to Burke, there are two types of states: one comes about through a variety of accidents and the other is rationally planned. An accidental becoming, he continues, guarantees a type of perfection that is intrinsically superior to that resulting from a planned regime because accidental becoming is in agreement with *individuality* or what is today called freedom. Burke in fact rejected Aristotle (and the French) precisely because emphasis on plan or design would be detrimental to freedom, that is, to the true development of the individual. Only the individual is real and natural and every molding or interference with the individual is unnatural, and in this very crucial sense Burke is even more individualistic than the French. Thus it appears that Burke's political thought, in spite of its medieval Christian Aristotelian overtones, did not move as completely "within the framework of (the) rational and moral universe" as Father Canavan has supposed, and was much more deeply rooted in the tradition of British empiricism than he has been willing to concede.

Toward the end of his work, Father Canavan offers up Burke's "profound and luminous mind" as "guidance to an age which has had somewhat too much of political passion and revolutionary ideology" (p. 194). But we are forced to wonder whether Burke's attack on theoretical principles as such can properly be taken as a model for us in our own day with regard to our struggle against totalitarianism. Father Canavan almost brings us to this realization when he says that Burke "weakened the foundations of his own thought" to the extent that he "subordinated speculation even in the properly theoretical order to practical norms" (p. 53). We must concede, however, that what Burke tells us about philosophical fanaticism is indispensable for understanding certain aspects of the totalitarian movement. In this connection, it certainly is to Father Canavan's credit that he reminds us that "the fundamental problem of politics" is still "that of the right or just form of government" (p. 109), and I believe that it was in this proper spirit that this book was written.

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The Objective Society. BY EVERETT KNIGHT. (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960. Pp. xv, 136. $3.75.)

When philosophy in the grand manner permitted the division of its labors between natural philosophy and social philosophy, it certified the ascendancy of the empirical which has distinguished modern intellectual history. The natural and social sciences steadily subdivided the whole empirical domain between themselves. Poor philosophy was left with epistemology, the theory of knowledge. As psychologists of learning and sociologists of knowledge staked claims on this terrain as well, the retreating philosphers executed the defensive maneuver of specialization by technicalization. Logic—codification of the formal rules of analysis—became the last bastion of philosophy.

By tending their stockade well, and by forming an ingenious alliance with mathematics, the logicians gained control of a strongpoint along the frontiers of science. Keen surveillance of empirical procedures won the logician a position as *éminence grise* of scientific method. The design of experiments, the techniques of classification, the treacherous terrain between evidence and inference—these crucial areas were codified, regulated, adjudicated by the logicians of science. But the empirical domain they left strictly to research scientists. Of substantive philosophy in the grand manner, the scientist heard little or nothing for many decades.

Everett Knight, a young Rhode Islander now teaching French Studies at University College of Ghana, sets out to correct all this. Using the simple concepts of existentialism, he disposes rapidly of the empirical domain monopolized for so long by the objective sciences: "Objectivity in the sense of impartiality is of course a product of science, and if objectivity is the morality of the intellectual it is because for several centuries it has been his religion." He disposes also of the humanist fellow-travelers of scientific objectivity: "The despair which is the occupational disease of modern intellectuals grows out of their double inability to believe in objects and to function without them."

But Knight really takes out after the malicious effect of objective science upon political life—"for objectivity strictly adhered to necessarily involves passivity." He asseverates, in what is left of Thomist or Talmudist dialectic, that government under democratic pluralism is condemned by the diverse groups it serves to "impartially arbitrating their differences." Then comes the *reductio:* "Pluralism is the nostalgic idealization of a system hardly less sordid than any other, and one which, into the bargain, could not possibly operate, because absolute governmental impartiality would mean governmental paralysis."

Knight's argument reposes upon the transparent fallacy of systematic double-dealing with the ambiguous term "objectivity." Scientific objectivity is neither identical nor coterminous with political impartiality; nor is one a necessary condition of the other. Political impartiality refers to the absence of purpose or preference from public policy—moral indifference to alternatives of action. Scientific objectivity refers to the logical canons of evidence and inference—moral commitment to accurate description and correct analysis. Knight systematically, I suspect deliberately, ignores the differences between criteria of accurate analysis and effective action. For his aim, like Sartre's, is to present existentialism as the rationale and programme of the intellectual *engagé*. He wishes to cure "the distress of the orthodox rationalist, whose thirst for clarity has become a camouflage for defeatism."

Such efforts to revive the age of ideology in the world of democratic pluralism usually prove their point by celebrating the achievements of monolithic despotism in our time. Knight, citing Marx's theses on Feuerbach to certify objectivity as activism ("In practice man must prove the truth"), assures us that: "Marxism as a science is dead, as an instrument of progress it is not yet understood." This overlooks the substantial archive of Western exegesis of the Bolshevik contempt for "bourgeois objectivity." It also makes a too facile connection between Marxian dialectics, Bolshevik programmatics, and Soviet successes. Other contemporary despotisms have attacked scientific objectivity without thereby achieving political supremacy. Ludendorff, the spiritual presbyter of Nazism, made this the theme of his attack on Weimar democracy: "Wir lernten *sachlich statt persönlich* denken, wir waren Schwarmgeister statt Menschen der rauben Wirklichkeit." Nazi subversion of scientific objectivity has been elucidated in Svend Ranulf's remarkable little book *Hitlers Kampf gegen die Objektivität.* Yet the *tausendjährige* Reich lasted but a decade.

Knight is worth reading. He is unlikely to convert many empirical scientists to his version of existentialist *engagement.* But he brings grand philosophy to bear in good style on major themes of political life. From an American pen, this is rare and refreshing.

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BOOK NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

POLITICAL THEORY, HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT, AND METHODOLOGY

Evidence and Inference. Edited by Daniel Lerner. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959. Pp. 164. $4.00).

Social scientists and many others owe thanks to The Free Press for making readily available six lectures delivered in the Hayden Colloquium on Scientific Concept and Method at M.I.T. and published originally in 1958, in *Daedalus.* As Daniel Lerner makes brilliantly clear in his gemlike Introduction, these essays represent hardheaded thinking about fundamental philosophical problems of human knowledge and stand, therefore, in the mainstream of "the classic concern with evidence and inference."

In the process of describing the historical and intellectual locus of the six essays Lerner encapsulates, in very few pages, a comparison of the respective sociological derivations and methodological consequences of dialectic and science as two modes of intellectual discourse which deserves reading in its own right. Each of the essays likewise deserves reading for its own sake—Raymond Aron's on history, Henry M. Hart, Jr., and John T. McNaughton's on the law, Erik H. Erikson's on clinical psychology, Martin Deutsch's on nuclear research, Paul F. Lazarsfeld's on social research, and Jacob Fine's on medicine.

But reading them together will forestall most readers from ever again indulging (if ever they did) in loose talk or easy generalizations about the "essential differences" between natural and social sciences, the inapplicability of "The Scientific Method" to the study of human affairs, the preferability of "Wisdom" or "Intuition" as alternatives to "Science" or, for that matter, the possibility of eliminating wisdom and intuition from the processes of scientific reasoning and research. Happily, all the authors deign to forego polemics on such supposed issues. Instead, each proceeds directly and in good faith to inquire, "What seem to be the character, shape and limits of human knowledge about this class of problem or phenomena? How does it relate and compare, qualitatively and substantively, to what we know in other fields?" Indirectly and implicitly, but nonetheless insistently, the authors demand of the active-researcher reader that he constantly ask himself not just *how* he works in the intellectual vineyard but precisely *where* he works, *what* he cultivates, and *why.* Collectively they communicate a sense of the community of scholarship and research in *all* branches of human inquiry which comes as a breath of fresh air into the dark regions of present-day controversies about methodology.

To relate the substance of all six essays is manifestly impossible in this space. Even though singling out one of them does no more than proclaim the reviewer's personal taste, it may be worth noting that Jacob Fine's "In Search of a Poison" is as captivating reading as any in *The New Yorker* magazine's "Annals of Medicine," and demonstrates beautifully how, in Arnold Brecht's words, "induction and deduction are so closely intertwined in modern science that the mind of the scientist operates like the hands of the weaver thrusting the threads of thought upward and downward in quick succession."—John C. Wahlke, *Vanderbilt University.*

The Meaning of Modern Business. By Richard Eells. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xi, 477. $7.50).

This book is an attempt to advance our understanding of the modern corporation, and of the questions of power and responsibility which it presents, by putting forth a "philosophy" of the large enterprise. While the author asserts a need to ask both scientific (*i.e.*, factual) and normative questions about the corporation's internal policy processes and its relationship to society, his emphasis is strongly on the normative side.

Suggesting that the idea of corporate "social responsibility" is transforming the industrial firm into something other than a unifunctional instrument of the stockholders (p. 12), Eells puts forth as the framework for his analysis two models representing the prevailing range of viewpoint within the business community toward the role of the corporation. The *traditional* type posits a primary duty of management to serve the property interests of the shareowners; relies heavily upon the market mechanism for resource allocation; and assumes that public welfare is an automatic by-product, relieving the corporation of any explicit social responsibility beyond the provision of a good product at a competitive price. The model of the *metrocorporation* is a paternalistic one: the corporation assumes a trusteeship role for stockholders, employees, suppliers and customers, and a right to "help shape the economic, social, and political environment to its own ends (p. 56).

After developing the implications of each of these types, and discoursing briefly upon the relationship of the firm to each of its "publics," the author recommends his model of the *well-tempered* corporation. A compromise between the polar types, this one asserts the primary obligation of management to equity holders, yet also embraces the multi-functional view of the corporation, including participation in the management of the "whole economic process" (p. 318) and exertion of its influence in the political arena (p. 325).

As devices for pointing up the dilemma of corporate managers whose market power gives them the opportunity to mold their environment instead of simply responding to it—but does not give them any guidelines or provide clearly established legitimacy for the exercise of social trusteeship—the models are useful. The author's answer to the questions posed in his analysis of the existing models is less adequate. His argument assumes what needs most to be subjected to scrutiny (*e.g.*, that the corporation can and should manage the allocation of society's resources, and that it should engage in electoral politics), and straddles some of the most interesting issues (*e.g.*, the ability of managers to "balance" a variety of social interests, and the question of a possible need for a publicly imposed constitutionalization of the internal corporate governing process). The book's primary value is that it constitutes an articulate (and occasionally provocative) statement of a responsible insider's thinking about the corporation, for the author is director of public policy research for a major manufacturing firm, as well as the holder of an academic research position. MICHAEL D. REAGAN, *Williams College.*

Human Freedom and Social Order: An Essay in Christian Philosophy. BY JOHN WILD. (Durham, N. C.: Published for the Lilly Endowment Research Program in Christianity and Politics by the Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 250. $5.00).

The aim of this book is to show that a Christian philosophy is possible and to indicate how it may be worked out. Today mankind is said to be in a pretty pickle: reason has failed, and yet we cannot return to pre-historic myth. What are we to do? The author asserts that we can and must return (turn) to Christianity. Christian philosophy might be thought by many to be a reconciliation of reason and faith. But the author informs us that all attempts to reconcile reason and faith, from Plato through Augustine and Aquinas to Hegel, have hitherto failed; they have all been too "objective", too rational, too abstract. This is a curious criticism to make of Augustine, though it may be fair enough for Aquinas, and it is somewhat disconcerting to find Professor Wild now criticizing instead of praising Plato and the tradition of natural law.

The past attempts having failed, what kind of Christian philosophy is better? It must be one which escapes the opposite dangers of myth and abstraction, and incorporates the tension between them. Is such a philosophy possible? The author is confident it is, and he proceeds to meet possible objections against it from a variety of viewpoints. What kind of philosophy will it be? It will be philosophy inspired by the Christian "image" (what a popular word "image" has become today), one "which is, on the one hand, independent in following evidence of its own, wherever it may lead, and yet, on the other hand, dependent on faith for certain decision where the evidence is ambiguous." (p. 123). The short answer to what the new Christian philosophy will look like, in nature and method if not in substance, is given by Kierkegaard. Professor Wild thus comes down firmly for the Christian existentialist position.

The remainder of the book is devoted to a discussion of Christian personal ethics, and their application to social and political life. The gap between high personal ethics and low social ethics, so often commented on in recent years, is duly noted. To bridge the gap we are recommended to emphasize *Lebenswelt,* action, choice, being, experience, and so forth; and these in turn will lead to a political program which supports decentralization and local loyalties, the U. N.'s struggle to administer international affairs, education for leisure time and personal freedom. The connection between the premises (or "image") and the program is extraordinarily tenuous.

How are we to judge such a book? Surely in terms of the high aim which the author himself sets. On this standard it must I think be judged a failure, in spite of the many shrewd points and stimulating thoughts which the author throws out. It is always a pleasure to read Professor Wild, as it is to read Plato, but this does not at all mean that one is convinced in either case. Existentialists may be enthusiastic about this pleasant and erudite sermon; others will rightly remain unconvinced.—H. B. MAYO, *University of South Carolina*

The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait. EDITED BY GEORGE B. DE HUSZAR. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 543. $7.50).

In recent years the publication of books of readings has been so insidious in American political science that a genuine anthology impresses one as a rare and refreshing contrast. This collection suggests that no comprehensive sociology of the intellectual is available because of the sheer intensity and variety of efforts at self-interpretation among the intellectuals.

The editor asserts that the modern independent intellectual emerged sometime before and during the period of the French Revolution. In making his selections he has ranged over a vast (and sometimes fugitive) assortment of literature spanning the following century and a half. The sixty-eight essays comprising the book are arranged in six topical divisions, each of which is preceded by a brief editorial introduction. The materials included under the various topics (emergence, nature, types, role, relation to ideology and national characteristics of intellectuals, respectively) are not mutually exclusive and the introductions summarize rather than interpret the subsequent contributions in terms of the applicable category. The selections are drawn from acknowledged classics, every conceivable field of literature, the social sciences, humanities and pamphleteering arts.

Although there is little agreement among these pieces on the definition of the intellectual, his function or his public reputation, two closely related problems occupy the attention (either directly or by implication) of practically every writer included in the book. The first of these is the sense of alienation that is so pervasive among the intellectuals. Intellectuals are not large enough in number or united sufficiently to constitute a separate social class, yet they are acutely aware of a common personal estrangement from society which arises from their adherence to values and activities which are not shared by the community as a whole. These differences inevitably produce a feeling among the intellectuals that they are isolated from influence in the society. Such a condition leads immediately to the second problem—the dilemma of participation as opposed to non-participation. Although it may provide social recognition, participation threatens integrity through the application of the spur of fame that is essential to success; politics is always more willing to use and reward the special talents of the intellectual than to take cognizance of his accumulated moral wisdom. Disengagement, on the other hand, in the form of refusal to utilize the authority of one's vocation, may in certain circumstances be an even more destructive form of moral cowardice. The attempts to resolve this dilemma are as varied as the philosophical fundamentals represented in this anthology, and they illustrate the extent to which the personal problem of every intellectual can ultimately be identified with the inescapable paradox of humanity. For reflection upon the condition of man is both the awesome burden and the glory of the intellectual's calling.—William C. Havard, *Louisiana State University.*

Law and Opinion in England in the Twentieth Century. By Morris Ginsberg. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 406. $6.50)

This is a collection of seventeen lectures delivered at the London School in 1957–58 as a "continuation" and "broadening" of Dicey's famous volume, *Law and Public Opinion in England During the Nineteenth Century.* The contributors are an ideologically mixed bag of distinguished law professors, judges, and professors in the social sciences. While each was assigned his own plot to till, and some do so carefully, others re-plow one another's fields or else ramble along the cowpaths in a manner which prevents the volume from achieving the unity and single-mindedness of its progenitor. The editor notes this quality but hopes that it will give "a certain vigour and freshness to the book and to make for greater readability." It does not.

The first section, "Trends of Thought," features the following essays. "The Growth of Social Responsibility," by Morris Ginsberg; "The Legacy of Philosophical Radicalism," by J. P. Plamenatz; "The Conservative Tradition and its Reformulations," by W. L. Burn; "The Liberal Outlook," by R. B. McCallum; and "The Growth of Socialism," by G. D. H. Cole. Section two, "Legal Developments," has essays on the law of various topics: associations, by D. Lloyd; property, by J. A. G. Griffith; business, by L. C. B. Gower; monopolies, by Sir David Cairns; administrative law, by W. A. Robson; labour, by O. Kahn-Freund; criminal law, by H. Mannheim; and family law, by Sir Seymour Karminski A third section, "Trends of Social Policy," has essays on health by R. M. Tittmuss, education by D. V. Glass, social security by B. Abel-Smith, and industrial relations by B. C. Roberts.

Given these writers, it is almost superfluous to say that there are some first-rate ideas in the book and some enlightening data. I found Burn delightful and penetrating on conservatism; Griffith savagely eloquent on the nature of lawyers, political scientists and judges when each writes about legal problems; and a creative spark in Lloyd's treatment of the problems of constructing a modern law of associations, particularly the governing of intra-association conduct.

No doubt it is my American provincialism which leaves me with the feeling that "opinion" is rendered as wispy by these modern commentators as it was by Dicey. The relation between Law and interest-group opinion, shifting daily public opinion, electorate opinion, university and journal opinion, and Establishment opinion does not receive the systematic treatment it deserves. The result is that the book provides illuminating chapters on particular areas of English theory, law and social policy without answering the central question of relationship posed by the title. —Alan F. Westin, *Columbia University.*

Elementi di una dottrina dello Stato e del diritto come introduzione al diritto pubblico. By Vincenzo Gueli. (Roma: Soc. ed. del [Foro italiano]. 1959. Pp. 565. 3,800 L).

In this volume, which should be of interest to students of legal philosophy and public law, Professor Gueli of the University of Rome brings together all that he judges most significant in his writings over the past twenty years and adds some new material. The study is divided into three parts: the state, law, and the "scientific" methodology of the state and law, with the second part receiving the most extensive treatment. Under these general headings numerous topics are considered, including the distinction between state, community, and society, the concept of the political regime, the idea of sovereignty, the relation between law and the state, the coexistence of a plurality of juridical orders, the continuity and identity of legal orders, the general principles underlying the juridical order, and reality and logic in the law.

The author is highly critical of neo-Kantian legal thought as represented in the work of Kelsen. The so-called pure theory of law is abstract and formalistic; the law is intimately related to social phenomena and cannot be properly understood as a system of norms. His own method is characterized as "empirical" and "scientific," and other approaches to the study of law are labelled "dogmatic," a distinction which in itself perhaps betrays a touch of dogmatism. Professor Gueli is firmly in the positivist camp with regard to the issue of natural law. He vigorously rejects the attempt of his colleague Giorgio Del Vecchio to discover the natural principles of justice which at once underlie and measure the positive legal order. Jurisprudence has nothing to do with metaphysics. According to Gueli, the distinguishing characteristic of the state is its sovereignty, defined as the ability of a collectivity to set its own ends or limits without restriction and to realize the "effective conditions of its self-sufficiency." The state (and in actuality this can only mean the body of ruling officials) possesses supremacy, independence, and the power of rule and cannot be restrained by any other power if it is to be the state.

One of Professor Gueli's fundamental notions is that the theoretical concepts of state and law must be derived from experience. When I consider this distinguished scholar's teaching in the light of the fact thst he lived for many years under the rule of Italian Fascism, I am tempted to ask whether he has not ignored the "experience" which is most relevant for contemporary legal and political theory, namely, the advent of totalitarianism. Acquaintance with the excesses of totalitarian dictatorships has led many Western legal theorists to re-assess the value of the natural law tradition, to consider the necessity of limiting the positive law of the state, and to construct a philosophy of law which has for its basis the totality of man's experience instead of an abstracted segment of it. The emergence of totalitarianism has demonstrated the inadequacy of positivism. To quote Professor C. J. Friedrich, "in the face of the positive law in totalitarian states, only a standard outside and beyond the law can protect the law . . . The lawless rule of totalitarian power has made it evident that jurisprudence once again must consider the development of such standards as one of its most essential tasks."—Dante Germino, *Wellesley College.*

The Book of Government of Rules for Kings. By Nizam Al-Mulk. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 259. $5.00).

This translation of a classic Persian text composed in the eleventh century A.D., is in many ways fascinating reading. The book was written as one of practical advice to a ruler who had requested leaders in his realm and entourage to submit critical suggestions and assessments concerning the status of the kingdom and the conduct of the royal office. It is divided into fifty chapters of very unequal length and of most diverse themes. In some of them there are delightful illustrative stories, others consist of quite brief pieces of advice. The work is in some ways comparable to the Western genre "de regimine principum," while much of its practical advice has a somewhat Machiavellian flavor. Much, of course, is taken for granted; though what is said is revealing as to the status, priority, the organization of the kingdom, the functions of administration, and the diverse needs of a court and ruler in that time and place.

Unfortunately, the Introduction by Reuben Levy is under two pages. Such a brief note on personalities, authorship, and setting, is hardly likely to be of any value to the informed scholar, and to those who know little or nothing of the time and place it is merely futile and irritating. What was called for, manifestly, was a fairly lengthy introduction of a scholarly sort which would make clear the setting and the background, analyze the ideas, compare with other Persian works of a like order, and suggest similarities to and dissimilarities from analogous works in the Western, and perhaps in the Far Eastern, traditions. Nevertheless, the curious scholar in administration and policy-making who is concerned with forms of government and leadership may find here worthwhile illustrative materials, and perhaps provocative stimulation.—Thomas I. Cook, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

Kritik and Krise: Ein Beitrag zur Pathogenese der Bürgerlichen Welt. By Reinhart Koselleck. (Freiburg/München: Verlag Alber. 1959. pp. xi, 229).

This is a study in the history of ideas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It seeks to illuminate the development of liberal (bürgerlich) thought by concentrating upon what it considers the situation at the start (Ausgangsposition), namely absolutism, and explaining such liberal thought as a reaction in terms of criticism and crisis. The train of argument is at times obscured by rather patent *non sequiturs,* as well as historical misinterpretation. Thus the regime Locke criticized is by implication treated as absolutist which it was not. But since all political and other ideas are to be explained as "functions" of a particular situation, such errors are almost unavoidable.

The treatment is greatly influenced by the political notions of Carl Schmitt who is singled out for acknowledgment and whose works are copiously cited. The "decisionism" of this author leads Dr. Koselleck to think of absolutism primarily in terms of the "sovereign decision"—only one of the aspects of this complex system of government. The discussion abounds in certain words fashionable in these circles, such as "sprengen," "Raum" and its various derivatives, "verorten" and so on. The author's treatment of free masonry is much influenced by that of Bernard Fay (pp. 177 and elsewhere), surely suspect authority.

In spite of these grave shortcomings the study makes interesting reading. I found the treatment of "secrecy" (pp. 55 ff.) quite stimulating and suggestive, and the analysis of the theatre as a political tribunal (pp. 84 ff.) no less so. The section dealing with Turgot (pp. 115 ff.) is among the most illuminating I have read on this curious author.

Central thesis of the author is that in the critique (of existing institutions) the crisis of the institutions was hidden (p. 84). This is hardly a very novel thought, considering that such criticism leads to ideology. The new ideology sought legitimation in the philosophy of history (pp. 108 ff.) and its notion of progress (p. 112). Such criticism and ideology could not but produce a civil war situation (pp. 129 ff.) All this is familiar enough in the writings on the genesis of liberal political thought. Why it should be called a *patho*genesis is nowhere made evident. The author has, however, given some very interesting evidence, and his footnotes are rich in references to little known authors, if not to documents. These notes and the bibliography cover nearly 70 pages, almost a third of the book. Inspired by antiliberal and anti-*bürgerlich* sentiments, it is a brilliant exposition of a theme that seems rather dubious, where it deviates from familiar paths.—CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *Harvard University.*

The Age of the Democratic Revolution. BY R. R. PALMER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 534. $7.50.)

This important and impressive book is a "putting together of hundreds of excellent [national] studies already in existence." A comparative study and "historical synthesis," it challenges widely accepted views. Palmer argues that the whole of western civilization "was swept in the last four decades of the eighteenth century by a single revolutionary movement." Thus the American Revolution was truly revolutionary and "a great event for the whole Eur-American world." And, titanic as it was, the French Revolution was but part of a larger movement, itself the result of forces at work everywhere and not, therefore, the primary cause of revolutionary turbulence.

During the century preceding 1760, Palmer argues, aristocracy increasingly dominated the post-medieval "constituted bodies" (parliaments, estates, orders.) After 1760, this entrenched aristocracy faced "a war on two fronts, against the Monarch . . . and the Multitude." For a decade the aristocracy yielded grudgingly, but when the American Revolution vastly stimulated European democratic demands, the response was a general "aristocratic resurgence." "Between 1774 and 1787 a kind of parliamentary-aristocratic counter-revolution" crushed and embittered European democracy.

This change in perspective is dazzling. Notice that aristocracy is shown despising and stifling not the French Revolution, but the American Revolution and its effects. The struggle usually thought to have burst forth *after* the French Revolution is shown to have occurred and the lines to have been drawn years earlier. The change in the time of the drama makes extraordinary changes in the players. Democracy is rescued from the opprobrium of Jacobinism and emerges as an inevitable and proper demand for "moderate reform." Conservatism is shown not as an understandable and even wise resistance to democratic excesses, but as itself the doctrinaire resistance to change which left to democracy no alternative but impassioned struggle. "If everything was abolished together in 1789 it was because everything had been defended together at least as early as 1776."

Palmer's political message is perfectly clear. His book is one long rebuke to the New Conservatives (Burke comes in for hard treatment) and it is a superb support of the famous aphorism, "the revolution is a bloc." Yet Palmer piously (or tongue in cheek) says that "the point is not to justify or impugn or recriminate, but only to make clear the division and the struggle. . . . " The point, rather, would seem to be precisely that a true account of what actually happened in some important political situation leads to an understanding of the nature of political things, from which understanding judgments rightly ensue. But this is only to say that great history has an intimate connection with political theory. Palmer says nearly as much when he acknowledges that his important argument (the American Revolution was revolutionary) depends primarily "on the use of an abstract concept." Palmer's history rightly depends on the use made of abstract concepts. But political theorists may find much to question in the way he uses them. For example, his discussions of Montesquieu and Blackstone, Burke and Adams leave something to be desired.

Much else in this book (and in the promised sequel) will be subjected to critical examination, but historians and political scientists will profit from the encounter, and from the rich historical detail and new juxtapositions of events Palmer presents.—MARTIN DIAMOND, *Claremont Men's College.*

Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life, BY STANLEY M. ELKINS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. 248. $4.50.).

The author of this essay, an assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago, believes that slavery and abolitionism can best be understood in a conceptual framework rarely used by American historians. North America provided no institutional framework within which slavery was confined and through which it might be modified. The tremendous and rapid growth of the United States tended to weaken institutional development, he says, and the consequent release from institutional ties resulted not only in the development of an aggressive type of democracy but of a singularly individualistic citizen. Among entrepreneurs this individualism created resistance to all controls and among intellectuals it resulted in a mystical exaltation of self and a condemnation of formal social institutions. Here the author certainly is on strong ground, although he somewhat neglects the effect of the great religious revivals of the period after 1820.

The Transcendentalists, says Elkins, were the intellectual leaders of pre-Civil War America, but they were men with "no close commitment to any of society's institutions," completely abstract in their thinking (141). Their demands for reform were anti-institutional and strongly tinged with a sense of personal sin. A more structured society deals with sin through the church, the courts, and other social instruments. In the absence of such traditional instruments of control the American reformer thirsted for direct and personal retribution, for "a total solution" (164).

In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies slavery was institutionalized, the supervisory function of the Church was well established, the Crown asserted its regulatory authority, and the planter was bound by a rigid code which did much to set the pattern for his relationship with his slaves. The slaves entering the Latin American colonies found "a legal and social setting incredibly complex, thick with the experience of centuries, and peculiarly fitted to receive and absorb them" (64). Thus emancipation could be brought about gradually and without violence.

Part of this work is devoted to a psychological analysis of the impact of slavery upon the individual. The Negro stereotype, Sambo, is a result of the shock of slavery upon the Negro in North America, Elkins believes. He suggests that a key to an understanding of Sambo may be found in a study of the experiences of inmates of Nazi concentration camps, where violent separation from the culture group and complete subservience to total authority resulted in the adoption of the expected role. So with the Negro, who played the part which was expected of him.

Could the great American tragedy have been avoided? Elkins apparently thinks that it could have been if the reformers had been willing to move by "a series of separate short-term reforms rather than root-and-branch abolition" (195). It was "folly" to accuse the Southerners of collective sin and "make them guiltier" (198). He suggests that Theodore Weld and his Seventy might have been more successful had they become missionaries to the slave, but they were "overwhelmed by the sense of sin" and thus did more than Garrison to drive the South to an irrational defense of slavery (199). The British, by using the strong social institutions available, gradually abolished slavery without violence, but the American abolitionists reduced this complex problem to "the simplest of moral abstractions," and thus "blocked off all concrete approaches" to it (206). The slaveholder repudiated the Jeffersonian ideal and his conscience was stilled by the rising profits of cotton farming and the totality of the abolitionist attack. As a result, he became involved in a wholly irrational attitude. The slaves were happy and contented; they loved their masters. But they must be closely guarded lest they rise and cover the land with blood. Abolitionists must be quarantined, though the happy slaves would not listen to their blandishments. Really, says Elkins, the Southerner feared subversion; he was afraid of himself; and thus the vicious cycle was completed.—H. L. SWINT, *Vanderbilt University.*

Class in American Society. BY LEONARD REISSMAN. (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959. Pp. xii, 436. $6.75.)

The political scientist's estimate of *Class in American Society* will depend mightily on the curiosities which he brings to his reading. One in search of an introduction to the topic of social stratification will find in this volume a useful summary of some of the notable works which have appeared during the past century. More subtle interests will not be served as easily. There is little in the way of original theory or speculation to move one's understanding of the implications of class and status beyond that achieved by the more creative authors cited. There is even less in the book in the way of informed comment on the political ramifications of social class.

In part, *Class in American Society* suffers the fate of any work which has the bad luck to appear at the same time as a major volume by one of the leading scholars in the same field. Lipset's *Political Man* provides more penetrating analyses of many of the same phenomena, and deals a devastating blow to such a conclusion in *Class in American Society* as that ". . . . there is no evidence to indicate that Americans vote or act politically along class lines." (page 283)

Taken more generously on what appear to be its own terms, *Class in American Society* is still not a thoroughly satisfying book. The multidimensionality of the concept of class remains troublesome to the author throughout. The absence of perfect agreement between such indicators as occupation and subjective class identification leads the author into a rather narrow cataloguing of the advantages and disadvantages of each rather than to a consideration of the possibility that their lack of congruence might be an important commentary on the nature of social class in America.

After considerable pulling and hauling, the author cuts the knot of complexity with the assertion that, "There is no doubt that the economic institution provides the major dimension for stratification in American society. . . . it is the economic base that is generic and all others are derivative." (page 205) The ensuing discussion is supposedly based on the further assumption that "the generic criterion of class is economic control and power. . . " But two paragraphs later we read (as a digression from another argument) that "the (analyst's) determination of economic class on the basis of power differentials is an impossible task at present, for the information needed is not at hand." Following a brief elaboration of this pregnant declaration, the remaining comments on the economic dimension of class are concerned only with the upper one or two per cent of the individuals or businesses who are "the most" even among the nation's economic elite. Moreover, this truncated treatment of the economic dimension occurs despite an elaborate, earlier specification of the instances in which perceptions and values must be shared with near unanimity among members of *each* of the classes in a society possessing a coherent and recognizable class system.—Warren E. Miller, *University of Michigan.*

The Eclipse of Community. By Maurice R. Stein. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. 354. $6.00).

The "community study" is a distinctly American contribution to social science. True, some good community studies have been made by foreign investigators in recent years, but all have been frankly patterned after American models. After almost half a century of intensive investigation, we possess an impressive literature, both numerically and qualitatively, on local communities in America. Yet these rich and fascinating data have not significantly contributed to general and theoretical understanding. Community studies, by definition, are highly specific as to time and place. Their authors have been better fact-collectors than theorists and, perhaps, this is as should be. But, before community studies can make their maximum contribution to social and political understanding, a theoretical framework which relates them to each other and points toward general conclusions must be developed. This is Professor Stein's objective.

Stein begins by surveying the studies of Chicago made during the 1920's by Robert Park and his students, the Lynd's studies of *Middletown*, and W. Lloyd Warner's analyses of "Yankee City." By insisting that these studies must be understood within their historical context, and by turning the tools of the sociology of knowledge upon these sociologist-community researchers, Stein gives us a fresh perspective on these classic works. Moreover, he argues that these studies contain the seeds of a theory of community development. Taken together, these works suggest that three forces—urbanization (Park), industrialization (the Lynds) and bureaucratization (curiously found to be a major theme in Warner's work)—are the principal shaping forces of the modern American community. This is as close as Stein comes to presenting a theoretical framework for the interpretation of American community studies. While they are hardly novel and fall rather short of being a "theory" of community, these concepts are undoubtedly helpful in analysing a wide range of social and political phenomenon, including community life.

Stein then proceeds to examine the effects of these three forces on different types of American communities as described in Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (a slum); Ware's *Greenwich Village* (bohemia); Davis and Gardner's *Deep South* and Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (the rural South); Stouffer and others' *The American Soldier* (military communities); Spectorsky's *The Exurbanites*, Whyte's *The Organization Man*, Seeley, Sim and Loosley's *Crestwood Heights* (suburbia); and numerous others. This skillful survey is followed by an unnecessarily long and lugubrious concluding section which argues that traditional values and personal ties are weakening and that anomie and anxiety are growing as a result of urbanism, industrialism, and bureaucracy. It seems to me that I had heard all this before. In fairness, it must be said that Stein marshalls some new evidence in support of this rather shop-worn conclusion.

This book will be of interest to political scientists for a number of reasons. To some, it will be a useful "trot" to the massive literature of community studies. Champions among us of the alleged virtues of rural and small town life will find its conclusions politically congenial, although Stein himself is much too sophisticated to be numbered among them. All of us can and should profit from this book's implicit methodological message. To "muddle up" to abstract, theoretical propositions from as large a mass of unsystematically collected data as exists on American communities is an almost impossible task. Advocates of the "case study" method in political science beware.—DONALD R. MATTHEWS, *University of North Carolina.*

Understanding Organizational Behavior. BY CHRIS ARGYRIS. (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1960. Pp. xii, 179. $5.00).

Argyris' latest contribution to the analytical breakaway of organization theory from traditional leading ideas is the development and application of an avowedly preliminary model to guide research. His theoretical lynch-pin is the complex interaction of the "intended rationality" of the formal organization and of its often-unpliable members. The model is familiar to followers of Argyris' work. The testing of its derivative hypotheses in an industrial context, however, reflects Argyris' growing analytical ambitions.

The volume is required reading for every social scientist, for "organization" is the stuff of social study. Argyris' attempt at a "fusion analysis" of the formal organization and the individual makes his contribution particularly attractive. Much of the literature, in contrast, emphasizes organizations without people (*e.g.*, Taylorian work) or people without organization (*e.g.*, "Human relations").

Behavioral scientists will look forward to the further development of Argyris' working model. Several developmental problems may be specified. First, Argyris' model is grounded in the assumption that "our culture" tends to induce personality characteristics which are "mature" (*e.g.*, "relative independence") rather than 'immature" (*e.g.*, "state of dependence upon others"). Since his concept of formal organization emphasizes its induction of immature behaviors, a convenient explanation of organization conflict in "our culture" is provided. But Argyris pays a substantial price, which could ensnare organization study in utopian theorizing. There are enormous problems in the study of "our culture." Moreover, unavailable cross-cultural studies are necessary to support the implications of the position. Argyris does quite well without the cultural assumption in his empirical work. A theoretical reorientation, especially in early models, seems indicated.

Second, Argyris' focus in empirical investigation shifts from "maturity" to the "self-actualization" of employees' "predispositions," or "tendencies to act in a particular manner *under specified conditions*." "Self-actualization" is defined as the degree to which an individual reports limits on his personality expression, whatever predispositions he has. The focus is a useful one. But Argyris establishes only tentative connections between it and "maturity." Moreover, predispositions ought to be functionally important "somethings" which permit complete and parsimonious description and prediction. Argyris' *ad hoc* predispositions—*e.g.*, "togetherness," defined as "skin-surface signs of friendliness"—do not always encourage confidence. More conceptual refinement, then, is necessary, as well as more advantage taken of concepts developed in other studies.

Third, a satisfactory empirical theory of organization will have to go beyond Argyris' emphases upon the formal organization and the individual. The products of "informal organization"—ranging from the small group to broad cultural patterns—cannot be treated only as compensatory reactions to low self-actualization. Argyris struggles in this theoretical bind. Thus self-actualization was high in one organization unit and Argyris reported that no "cohesive groups" existed. This is consistent with his theory. But at the same time he hypothesized that an "informal employee culture" was reflected in the high degree of agreement on many work-relevant issues.

This neglect is particularly important if, as seems to be the case, most individuals have wide "response repertoires" from which particular behaviors are induced by cultural products such as small group "atmosphere." That is, such elements constitute the "specified conditions" which unspecifiedly limit Argyris' definition of "predispositon." This is not a quibble. An empirical theory must be unique as well as convincing. It makes a great deal of difference, especially in prediction, which variables are conceived as independent and which as dependent. In this particular, as in others, the need for experimentation (not merely description) is patent in the development of Argyris' working model.—Robert T. Golembiewski, *University of Illinois.*

Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison, By Richard A. Cloward, Donald R. Cressey, George H. Grosser, Richard McCleery, Lloyd E. Ohlin, Gresham E. Sykes and Sheldon E. Messenger. (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1960. Pp. vi, 146. $1.50 paper).

Considered as a political organization a prison is that limiting case where the consent of the governed can never be sought, for if the prisoners were consulted about the ends of the society they would demand freedom and no prison could survive that. Riots in a prison can never be revolutions and two exclusive castes must face each other for ever, as once did masters and slaves in the wider world. Yet within a prison the transformation of force into authority always takes place; guards and inmates always work out ways to lessen the radius of the fear they both feel to be an inevitable part of their relationship.

The six studies in this short book apply ideas emerging from developing theories of sociology to such problems. Each writer takes a slightly different standpoint and together they make an impressive contribution to our knowledge of social structures. The primary source of social order and stability is found in the informal attachments between inmates: this conflicts both with the custodian's concept of the ideal prisoner as a solitary isolate intent only on "doing his own time," and also with the reformer's concept of the prisoner as an individual needing treatment. Political prisoners, of course, are excluded from the argument since they always get special conditions. Other authors write about power as manifested by communication patterns and access to information, and about the rise and the influence of interest groups and political pressures on the prison administration.

These six papers have a unity that is rare in collections of this sort. They show the explanatory power of those sociological "theories of the middle range," first developed by R. K. Merton, when they are applied with sophistication to a single institution. They make their points clearly and with a minimum of descriptive detail. The result is a stimulating and provocative book.—John Mogey, *Vanderbilt University.*

The Theory of Committees and Elections. By Duncan Black. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958). Appendix, xiii, 241.

This work is evidently an elaboration of a monograph, *Committee Decisions with Complementary Valuations*, co-authored with Professor R. A. Newing, a colleague and mathematician at the University of North Wales. Professor Black advocates not only a theory but also a mathematically based system to break a deadlock in a committee by furnishing an alternative that has a reasonably good possibility of being accepted. After first determining independent and complementary values, and then either member or motion preference for a variety of different proposals, preference curves are plotted. Opinions may emerge as simple single-peaked, or as more complex multi-peaked or plateau patterns. Other factors, such as point set and measurable variables, are explored and explained in relation to assisting committees in arriving at a proposal that should meet with majority approval. By employing either the optimum or the matrix and submatrix system, a feasible plan of action should be clearly indicated. Admittedly no panacea, however, the theory will not work if there is too wide a range of preference.

Professor Black considers that voting in elections is a larger extension of the voting that occurs in the smaller committee groups, and therefore would follow the same general principles. An interesting historical sketch of the attempts to apply mathematical theorems to voting procedures, such as the work of Condorcet in this area, is included. The Appendix furnishes the rare text of three pamphlets and *The Cyclostyled Sheet* by the Reverend Charles L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), who proposed a similar theory, as Professor Black discovered after most of his work was completed. The résumé of this mathematical-political theory does not include the application of the principles to proportional representation and international agreements, which Professor Black does set forth.

Although the presentation could have been simplified perhaps, a well developed theory and system is nevertheless provided for deadlocked committees to convert plurality into majority and therefore change a collection of stalemated proposals into an acceptable measure. The theory needs only more general acceptance and practical application. Possibly Professor Black's work will one day be condensed and appended to standard collections of parliamentary rules of order.—Charles G. Jackson, *Presbyterian Jr. College (N.C.).*

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Edited By Leonard W. Labaree And Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. lxxxviii, 400. $7.50).

After six years of careful preparation the editors have released the first volume of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin.* Unquestionably the old master printer's shade is delighted with the first fruits of this project, which will necessarily extend over many years and run to a long series. Volume One promises a set of a quality that will not suffer by comparison with the inevitable yardstick, *The Jefferson Papers.* On the obvious matters of paper, typography, and format the publishers have spared neither expense nor pains, with results that are completely satisfying. It is a pleasure to hold such a volume.

As a usual thing readers do not think of holding volume one of a set of collected works for ordinary reading purposes. This particular volume one ought to be an exception, because the experience is richly rewarding. Here is the record of the first twenty-eight years of Franklin's intellectual life in his own words with concise explanatory notes. Although the writing belongs to the formative period, these pieces prefigure the great Franklin of maturer years, even the juvenalia such as the Dogood Papers—the same deceptions (mostly transparent), the hoaxes, the keen observation, and the shrewd timing. These were throughout his life characteristic of his political behavior and his private conduct. Furthermore the volume contains several choice items of Frankliniana: the tract on liberty and necessity (which he later attempted to destroy), the pamphlet on paper currency, and the first two issues of Poor Richard's Almanac. Many of Franklin's lesser contemporaries have survived with a slenderer output for their whole life spans.

The formal table of contents shows as major items the Dogood Papers, A dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, the Journal of a Voyage from London, the Busybody Papers, The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency, numerous small bits composed at his printing press as part of his work as publisher, a very few personal letters, and finally Poor Richard's Almanac for 1733 and 1734. The editors have reproduced in facsimile (pp. 287–310) the first almanac, which contains one of Franklin's celebrated hoaxes, his prediction of the imminent death of Titan Leeds, a rival almanac publisher. Prefixing this corpus of early works some eighty pages of explanatory matter furnish the necessary details on the Franklin manuscripts, editions of his works, the principles of selection and arrangement, and the editorial procedure followed. For the scholar, then, as well as the "courteous reader," always in the foremost of Franklin's practical mind, all is in order. This is a brilliant beginning.—AUBREY C. LAND, *University of Maryland.*

The Autobiography of James Monroe. EDITED BY STUART GERRY BROWN. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 236. $6.00).

Those who read this book in the hope of finding some revolutionary revelations about the fascinating career of James Monroe will assuredly be disappointed. The justification for publishing it is simply that scholars and the public at large should have available to them every word that throws any light on the education and formative years of the nation's presidents. The two autobiographical fragments here published for the first time deal with the first and controversial half of that career. They are the work of a wise, professional politician, and constitute a justification rather than an analysis. Notwithstanding such limitations, the book reveals Monroe's thinking on several subjects related to political theory and the Constitution. His reflections on political matters are especially revealing, when it is recalled that he voted against ratification in the Virginia Ratifying Convention.

The book is prefaced by a charming, thoughtful and sympathetic essay by its editor. A chronology of events during the period covered by the autobiography is included.—DAVID A. BOOTH, *Vanderbilt University.*

The Great Issues of Politics. Second Edition. BY LESLIE LIPSON. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960. Pp. xviii, 460. $5.95).

Changes from the original (1954) edition are somewhat more consequential than their quantity might suggest. The book is kept timely by the addition of terse and lucid paragraphs taking into account a number of important post-1954 political events and problems. By these additions and others concerning matters of less contemporary notoriety, discussions of each of the five "great issues" is extended and their character further illuminated. Through extensive reorganization and rewriting of the first four chapters (now reduced to three by eliminating the separate chapter on "The Content and Method of Political Science"), the author's conceptual and methodological viewpoint is presented more sharply and forcibly. Lipson's continuing effort to make analysis of political ideas relevant to analysis of political institutions and behavior continues to deserve the attention of all concerned with the character, goals and functions of political theory, including those who might reject his viewpoint.—JOHN C. WAHLKE, *Vanderbilt University.*

Landmarks of Law. Highlights of Legal Opinion. EDITED BY RAY D. HENSON. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1960. Pp. xiv, 461. $8.50).

The present book consists of 28 articles written since 1886, on the theory and substance of law. They are well chosen for reader interest, being predominantly well written and non-technical in style. They may be read with pleasure and profit by anyone with an interest in legal philosophy or legal problems. There are representative samplings from such prominent figures as Vinogradoff, Holmes, Pound, John Dewey, Frankfurter and Brandeis; but less well known writers contribute some of the better pieces. The reviewer particularly enjoyed re-reading Lon Fuller's "Case of the Speluncean Explorers."

The book, unfortunately, has a definite bias toward legal realism. The editor has made no apparent efforts to present other points of view. In a book which purports to present "the classics of legal observation and opinion" (as the dust-jacket puts it), this constitutes an unfortunate limitation, or imbalance, even though this is the most characteristic approach to American law in the twentieth century. LOREN P. BETH, *University of Massachusetts.*

American Political Thought. BY ALAN P. GRIMES. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960. Pp. xiv, 556. $6.50).

The text of this revised edition is the same as the 1955 version for the first fifteen chapters. The former chapter 16, "Anti-Democratic Thought," has been replaced by one on "Economic Individualism" and two new chapters on "Protest Ideologies" and "Conservatism." Chapter 17, "Pragmatic Liberalism," has also been revised, but it seems skimpy in contrast with the attention given to other twentieth-century writers of the Right and Left.

Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth Century: Problems and Prospects. EDITED BY *William N. Chambers and Robert H. Salisbury.* (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1960. Pp. vii, 151. No price).

Five papers, presented at but revised after a 1958 Conference at Washington University, which hang together better than most symposia and throw out some thoughtful hints for future research and theory while "exploring certain dimensions of democratic ideals and realities."

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AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

White House Fever. By Robert Bendiner. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 1960. Pp. 180. $3.75).

The People's Choice. By W. Burlie Brown. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 178. $4.00).

Ordeal of the Presidency. By David Cushman Coyle. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. v, 408. $6.00).

A Roman Catholic in the White House. By James A. Pike. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company. 1960. Pp. 133).

Amid the year's bumper crop of official, "unofficial," and hostile biographies that mark the onset of a highly competitive presidential election year, these four books may serve to provide for some perspective and for others comic relief. As a group, having the choice of American presidents as subject matter in common, they portray a grim view of the process whereby presidents are chosen.

White House Fever is written tongue-in-cheek for armchair political analysts and king-makers. A journalist by profession, Bendiner's style is breezy and friendly to a wide variety of tastes. Well-chosen political cartoons and historic allusions serve to trace the successive steps from a candidate's realization that he is presidential timber to the decisive November day. Bendiner views the whole process of selecting a president with the abandon of a small boy describing a circus, conscious of its facades, appreciative of the skillful performers, excited by the pace and the side shows, and awed by the grandeur of the finale. "Out of thirty-four Presidents, it has given us, by my count, twenty who were either first-rate or respectably competent and only fourteen who ranked downward from the mediocrity of a McKinley. . . "

Bishop James Pike, on the other hand, concerns himself with only one qualification of the candidate which may be, at least negatively, decisive. *A Roman Catholic in the White House* suggests, by the very raising of the question, that someone might say, "Never!" with at least some justification. Pike's own conclusion is, "It depends," but the inescapable conclusion from his thorough documentation and logic is less ambiguous. The "basic question" he asks is: "Are there any beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church that might impede the power of a President to fulfill his high office in accordance with American tradition?" The documentary evidence from Vatican sources which follows spells out a clear "YES" to non-Roman Catholic readers. This is partially offset by a chapter citing with approval statements by American Roman Catholic sources which are either at variance with the "official" church policy, or are legalistically discriminating. Bishop Pike does *not* ask whether most well-known religions might seriously impede the traditional exercise of Presidential power if their dogmas were taken seriously! If there remain those who doubt the willingness of a Roman Catholic seeking national public office to act independently in the face of a threat of powerful church sanctions, must they not also ask how often in a non-Catholic state a church has martyred a public official espousing a popular cause.

The remaining two books are less specialized in purpose and appeal. *The People's Choice* also asks the question: How do Americans choose their presidential candidates?, and answers the query with a non-mathematical content analysis of presidential campaign biographies from 1824 to the present. The author's hypothesis is that such biographies reveal the symbolic image that represents "the whole complex of ideals and beliefs that the American people have held dear," and that since 1824 the presidency has been a symbol of America in the same sense that the crown is the symbol of all that is British. The stereotypes, which are all familiar, form the structural outline of the book. Students will find Professor Brown's selection of campaign biographies helpful.

David Cushman Coyle's contribution to political history is especially worthy of note. During every presidential campaign in our history the incumbent has been slandered and defamed. Coyle has chosen the "ten . . . most maligned Presidents, from Washington to Franklin Roosevelt" and canvassed the extent of their abuse. Unfortunately the book is not documented, but it is written with a skill that imparts competence. The author finds a high correlation between presidential greatness and the degree of vituperation aimed at that office. Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, both Roosevelts, and Wilson were all listed in the "average-or-better" classifications in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s 1948 poll of American historians. As Coyle says in his Epilogue, this book will be of great comfort to friends of any incumbent during a campaign.—JAMES A. RIEDEL
Union College.

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. BY WALTER JOHNSON. (Boston: Little Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 390, $6.00).

Among the numerous writings on public affairs it is refreshing to find one that relates the presidency to the events of the past three decades. The purpose of this publication is to show the importance of the American presidency in dealing with the problems and situations that confront the nation. Mr. Johnson does this by tracing the history of the president's role in national affairs from 1929 to 1959, using a lively journalistic style but always providing documentation.

The author begins by recalling the economic conditions of the 1920's and 1930's. The story of the part played by the president during a crucial period of economic insecurity and readjustment—from the pathetic efforts of the Hoover Administration to stem the tide of depression, on through the feverish activities of the New Deal days—is interestingly related. The struggle over the creation of a foreign policy that might avert war and, when this failed, the formulation of war policies are described with candor and color. The three postwar presidential elections are ably depicted.

There are few omissions of important events and issues. The more serious criticism, however, is that too often his selections and treatment constitute sketches rather than the authoritative analysis that the subjects of his narrative deserve. For example, only passing mention is given to the 1952 Republican campaigners' emphasis on the necessity of rolling back the iron curtain and to the call by Adlai Stevenson in 1956 for a cessation of atomic bomb explosions.

But on the whole Johnson has presented his material well and has shown the essential, vital role of the President as a leader. Roosevelt's strong leadership in the dual presidential role of chief legislator and head of party on the one hand and chief of state on the other is compared with Truman's limitations in the latter role and to Eisenhower's limitations in the former. The presidency, of course, is not depicted as an area of government that can act independently; the author carefully shows that Congress and the judicial branch—particularly Congress—can aid the program of the chief executive or stop it from being effective. But he also shows that the president has the obligation to provide leadership for the nation and that the effective functioning of the American system of government depends upon that leadership.—DOUGLAS CARLISLE, *University of South Carolina.*

The Invisible Presidency. BY LOUIS W. KOENIG. (New York: Rinehart. 1960. Pp. 438. $6.95).

The folklore of the Presidency abounds with Kitchen cabinets, Tennis cabinets, Fishing cabinets and the like. In this study, based on sound historical research, interviews, and command of the standard sources, Professor Koenig goes beyond legend to analyse the role of powerful presidential confidants in the broad sweep of American history. What is invisible about the invisible presidency is not the glacial influence of lesser administrators within the administrative state nor the famed anonymity of the White House staff; rather it is the elusive power of a current Presidential favorite. This volume is a timely antidote to the somewhat delusive preoccupation with unification, committeeism, and administrative tinkering in Cold War Washington. Not surprisingly, the author concludes that the ambitious energy of the man, not the neatness of administrative structure, drives policy; unless, as with Sherman Adams and Dwight D. Eisenhower, the structure and ambitions coincide. In one of the two truly outstanding chapters of the study Professor Koenig states, "Sherman Adams was the instrument by which Dwight D. Eisenhower accomplished one of the most thoroughgoing withdrawals from the duties of the Presidency in the history of the office. His achievement is a *tour de force* of administrative ingenuity and invention." An eminently fair treatment of Sherman Adams, who emerges as something more than a newsman's stereotype, is matched by a brilliant description of the politics of administration through the person of Thomas G. Corcoran. By themselves, the two chapters tell more about the Presidency and American government than would the most carefully chosen shelf of texts, Government Manuals, and treatises on decision making. The unpredictable appearance on the Presidential stage of ruthlessness and idealism, purpose and circumstance, seems to confirm once more that the biographical essay can lead to the most perceptive understanding of the political process.

The political careers of seven favorites of six Presidents receive thorough treatment: the Prime Minister of Washington's administration, Alexander Hamilton; the Red Fox of Kinderhook, Martin Van Buren, as Jackson's confidant; and the quietly influential William Loeb, Jr., secretary to Theodore Roosevelt. As for the special assistants of two World Wars, a depression, and the Cold War, the author has chosen Colonel House, Thomas G. Corcoran, Harry Hopkins, and Sherman Adams. (For those addicted to a geographical interpretation of politics, a case could be made for New York State as the Mother of Invisible Presidents. Although some were reared outside the state, all except Sherman Adams and, in some respects Colonel House, issued from the politics of New York.) Other favorites and special assistants, as influential in their time, are mentioned in passing. In an introduction to the biographical chapters the author delineates the administrative circles within the Executive branch: the Cabinet, the White House staff, the inner circle, and, momentarily the most powerful figure, the favorite. Several favorites may be found within the inner circle at one time or a single favorite reigns as the advisor to the President. Those who receive the privilege do so because the President sees them as an extension and agent of his own personality or feels the need to escape the stultifying pressures of formal administrative channels. Favorites are not administrative specialists; they are, rather, jacks-of-all-trades, trouble shooters, administrators of critical programs, brokers with Congress, ghost writers, and jesters. They do the legwork where the President may not or prefers not to go; they are trusted as advisors for public and private presidential decisions "ranging from whether he should run again to his choice of cigars and poker chips." Common to all favorites is their unchallenged ease of access to the President and the insecurity of their tenure. National policy may suffer if a President relies uncritically on his favorite special assistants. The author states that the Roosevelt-Hopkins alliance at Yalta and the Eisenhower-Adams alliance in Washington produced this result. But, by virtue of American constitutional safeguards, all have been controlled eventually by Congress, the parties, the press, or Presidents themselves.

If any criticism is to be levelled at this study it is that the title is misleading. Few favorites have been unknown to the public; they are all too visible. It is the extent of their influence which is not. Regrettably, too, this volume is part of the trend away from footnotes. Modest scholarly curiosity is stirred up by the undocumented statement of Thomas G. Corcoran, who reportedly (p. 250) said somewhere that the President "must deceive, misrepresent, leave false impressions, even sometimes lie . . . and trust to charm, loyalty and the result to make up for it. . . . A great man cannot be a good man." And, is it true that President Eisenhower "made something of a record" (p. 372) by holding more press conferences than any other President?—RICHARD P. LONGAKER, *Kenyon College.*

Urban Republicanism in the South. BY DONALD S. STRONG. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Bureau of Public Administration. 1960. Pp. x, 69).

This monograph is an effective demonstration of what can be accomplished by the laborious task of compiling and calculating election statistics. Intelligently conceived and well executed, it makes an important contribution to an understanding of recent developments in Southern politics.

Professor Strong demonstrates that Republican strength in the South in 1952 and 1956 was based on urban areas. His proof consists of comparing the percentage of the Republican vote in counties containing a city with a population of 50,000 or more with the percentage of the Republican vote in non-urban counties. In each of the eleven states of the old Confederacy the percentage of the Republican vote in urban areas exceeded the percentage of the Republican vote in non-urban areas. Professor Strong further demonstrates that the gains which the Republicans made in the South between 1936 and 1956 were in the urban areas in all states except Florida.

Intensive analysis of precinct returns in several Southern cities provides considerable evidence for Strong's finding that "prosperous city dwellers liked Ike most." These studies of certain cities indicate that it was the more prosperous white citizens who were most favorable to Eisenhower, while the lower income white citizens were least attracted to him. On the other hand the pattern of Negro voting varied. In 1952 the Negroes voted overwhelmingly for Stevenson, while in 1956 they split their votes about 50-50 between Eisenhower and Stevenson. Since these findings are restricted to cities for which data were readily available, they cannot be so conclusive as the findings about urban voting in general. However, the methods which Strong outlines may provide helpful guidelines for those who wish to test his hypotheses in other Southern cities.

Professor Strong points out that the correlation between high income and Republican voting coincides with patterns outside the South and thus makes possible national Presidential politics. Nonetheless he warns against leaping to the conclusion that the South is moving to a two-party system and explains some of the factors which continue to retard "grass roots" Republicanism. He thus restricts prediction of party competition in the South to the House of Representatives and cites the election of five additional Republicans from the South in the Eisenhower years as the beginning of what could be a trend in favorable Republican years.

The urban centers of the South are growing at a faster rate than the national average while Southern rural areas are losing population absolutely as well as relatively. Thus, Professor Strong has made an important contribution on a subject which will become increasingly important. —WILDER CRANE, JR., *Vanderbilt University.*

Antitrust Policy: An Economic and Legal Analysis. BY CARL KAYSEN AND DONALD F. TURNER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xxiii, 345. $7.50.)

This study grew out of discussions of antitrust problems extending over several years by a group of distinguished Harvard economists and lawyers, including Edward S. Mason, who presided over the group and wrote the preface, and Carl Kaysen and Donald F. Turner, authors of the study. The product of intensive thought and discussion and written by acknowledged experts, the study should command the attention of all students of antitrust policy.

To determine the importance of the antitrust problem the authors present a statistical survey of market structures. They find what others have found, that "structural oligopoly" is characteristic of "large and important sectors of our economy." They recognize four possible goals of antitrust policy: (1) limiting the social and political power of big business; (2) promoting good performance by industry; (3) insuring fair dealing by corporations with power over the market; (4) protecting the competitive process by eliminating unreasonable market power. They think the last should be the primary goal of public policy.

Whether the power of any firm or group of firms over the market is unreasonable will depend, according to the authors, on its source and magnitude. Market power that results from patent grants or the introduction of new products or processes or is inherent in the economies of scale is reasonable. Market power that stems from the structure of the market alone is reasonable or unreasonable depending on its magnitude. To determine its magnitude the authors would make a detailed examination of market structure—broadly defined as "those conditions external to the firm which are relatively permanent . . . and which affect, if they do not determine, the way the firm operates" (p. 59). The major elements of market structure are "(1) the breadth of the market and the character of demand, (2) the number and size distribution of sellers and buyers, (3) the conditions of entry for new sellers . . . , (4) the character and importance of product differentiation, and (5) the degree of independence of action among sellers and buyers" (p. 71). Because market structure does not always afford a reliable standard for evaluating the reasonableness of market power, the performance and conduct of firms possessing it should also be examined. Performance has two elements, efficiency and progressiveness. Economic theory provides a model and analytical tools for judging the efficiency of performance. The analyst must examine the relationship between cost and price and between output and capacity through the several phases of at least one business cycle. He must also examine the technical efficiency of a firm or industry—whether production is by efficient methods and in plants of efficient scale located efficiently with regard to markets. Since there is no economic model or set of analytical tools by which to judge the relative progressiveness of firms, progressiveness is not a useful determinant of the reasonableness of such power as a firm may possess. And because conduct and structure cannot always be clearly differentiated, the conduct of firms may also throw light on whether they possess unreasonable market power.

Having set up their standards and indicated the type of analysis by which to apply them, the authors examine the more important antitrust decisions to determine the gap between actual antitrust policy and a policy designed to protect the competitive process from unreasonable market power. The gap is large. To close it they propose to replace existing legislation with new statutes creating an Industrial Reorganization Commission to handle the prosecution of companies charged with possessing unreasonable market power and an Economic Court to adjudicate such cases. Any corporation accounting for 50 per cent or more of annual sales in the relevant market and any four or fewer corporations accounting for 80 per cent of such sales would be conclusively presumed to possess unreasonable market power and would be divided into a sufficient number of firms to assure competitive conditions.

The law on mergers would be tightened by requiring advance reporting of all proposed mergers involving firms larger than a designated absolute size. Price-affecting agreements involving certain specified conduct would be illegal *per se*. Instead of the Robinson-Patman Act a new statute would deal separately with price discrimination directed against competing sellers and price discrimination that harms buyers.

Legislation of the kind proposed by Kaysen and Turner, administered according to their standards, would do more than existing statutes to reduce monopoly power. Whether or not students of antitrust subscribe to their proposals, they will be impressed by the authors' objective treatment of the subject and skill in analyzing it. This is an important study.—GEORGE W. STOCKING, *Vanderbilt University.*

The Forest Ranger. BY HERBERT KAUFMAN. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 259. $5.00.)

By examining the work of the Forest Ranger, Kaufman describes typical tensions in a large-scale, far-flung organization. How its "tendencies toward fragmentation" are countered by "techniques of integration" comes into sharp focus as Kaufman, using essentially anthropological methods of field study, gives an account that reflects his deep immersion in the "culture" of the Forest Ranger.

The Forest Ranger's work moves the Forest Service from its policy-making to its executive role. As executive, planner, and woodsman, the Ranger must act, often very much on his own and, as in the case of fire-fighting, in sole command of operations. Yet at a number of critical points he must relate himself to overarching policies if the Forest Service is to be able, for example, to satisfy the demands of its clients for nationwide consistency. Moreover, a Forest Ranger can expect to advance in the ranks of the Service only as he identifies his actions with its policies.

Kaufman notes how varied forces, inside and outside the Service, separate the Ranger from his organizational bases. His complex tasks call for inventiveness. Inside the Service, for example, policy directives often miss the mark—they are too general, too complex, inconsistent, or irrelevant. The Ranger is far from headquarters and close to the demands of his own staff. The clients of the Service and other local groups thrust upon him demands appealing to his local loyalties against national policy norms. Meanwhile, the ideology of the Forest Service itself makes him out to be the central actor in a decentralized drama. Centrifugal forces threaten the organization.

When Kaufman comes to describe how the Forest Service has developed a style of management to offset these threats to unity, he illustrates vividly how the analysts may assess the "tightness" of an organization. What goes on in the daily operations of the Ranger and those with whom he deals supplies us a new sense of the varied ingredients that make up the cement of the organizational structure. In the details of operating procedures we gain an insight into the efforts of the Service to "pre-form" the decisions of the Ranger. Kaufman examines the structure of sanctions against deviations as they deter the Ranger who ventures too far afield. As the Ranger is selected, trained, transferred, and promoted, Kaufman shows how he internalizes the goals and methods of the Service. The arrangements to aid the Ranger develop "the will and capacity to conform" show him coming to view as proper professional conduct what the Service approves. Among his rewards are full support from the Service when he acts according to its authorizations. As he takes his proper place, he gains access to a share in the policy processes of the Service.

Kaufman's application of his "fragmentation-integration" schema to the Forest Service invites its use in comparative studies of other administrative systems and their assessment on a scale of "tightness" of controls. Thus we may be enabled to decide whether what Kaufman calls the "hazards of managerial success" threaten the very goals of large-scale organizations.—EGBERT S. WENGERT, *University of Oregon*

Legislative Politics in Illinois. BY GILBERT Y. STEINER AND SAMUEL K. GOVE. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Pp. x, 208. $4.50.)

The authors of this monograph describe their work as "an inquiry into policy making by the Illinois General Assembly and into the source of [its] policy leadership." As a result, instead of producing a manual of legislative organization and procedure, Steiner and Gove have constructed a model for description of the legislative process which can be employed fruitfully in other states with the end product being a meaningful understanding of the nature of the legislative process in American state government.

The study is divided into two segments, the first devoted to a description of the setting in which legislative activity takes place and the second to an examination of the activity itself through the medium of a series of case studies. The institutional framework spelled out in the first three chapters of the book takes cognizance not only of the formal internal aspects of the setting such as legislative membership, leadership, partisanship, and committee operations, but also of equally important external features such as the governor, mayor and city administration of Chicago, the press, and private and public lobbyists. The function of each of the institutions described in the first portion of the book, as well as the activity of group interests within these institutions is then elaborated upon in depth in three case studies dealing with legislative redistricting, reorganization of the state fiscal machinery, and judicial reorganization.

Perhaps the most illuminating conclusion of the study involves the function of standing committees. The authors have ably demonstrated that the universally accepted practice that standing committees serve as little legislatures and as pigeonholing agencies for legislation is not followed in Illinois. Although standing committees in Illinois "are a part of the total complex of impediments to the enactment of law," as independent determinants of the fate of legislative proposals they are of scant importance. Substitutes for standing committees include among others, the governor and *ad hoc* commissions. The authors modestly avoid attempting an explicit explanation for this phenomenon, but the reader is given ample data to engage in his own speculation. It is to be hoped that the publication of *Legislative Politics in Illinois* will stimulate scholars in other states to undertake similar studies.—ROBERT S. FRIEDMAN, *Louisiana State University*.

Politics in Minnesota. BY G. THEODORE MITAU. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960. Pp. v, 140. $1.95.)

One of the by-products of the cooperative venture initiated by Paul David in the *Presidential Nominating Politics* study of the 1952 election was a number of brief descriptive monographs describing the contemporary political situation in half a dozen states, including California, Illinois, Massachusetts and Michigan. The present volume provides a similar picture for Minnesota down through the 1958 election. Following a historical introduction to the patterns, issues and leaders in state politics from 1858–1958, chapters describe the electoral system and party organization, legislative politics (Minnesota has a nonpartisan ballot for state legislators), and pressure groups. Appendices contain personal directories on Minnesota's national representatives and governors, and selected voting statistics.

The Federal Government and Metropolitan Areas. BY ROBERT H. CONNERY AND RICHARD H. LEACH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 275. $4.75).

This is a study built around "should" and "ought." It is essentially a staff policy paper best suited for the assistance, perhaps, of Congressmen and Presidential candidates. The professional colleagues of the authors, however, can gain from reading it.

The book contains a careful historical summary of Federal programs in metropolitan areas. It provides a similar cataloging of executive agencies which have played a part in the development of the larger urban areas, and of the arguments, pro and con, concerning a department of urban affairs. There is a delightful recounting of the efforts of the Eisenhower administration to understand the implications of cooperative federalism and, at the same time, to fend off the onslaughts of right-wing extremists. Some good lecture material can be gathered from the description given of interstate and international metropolitan service problems. The book will, incidentally, be welcomed by those who think that ability to express oneself with clarity is one of the marks of the well-trained scholar, and that the English language has a continuing function as a means of communication among social scientists.

Yet, the study will disturb many, for there is no systematic inquiry into Federal expenditure levels in metropolises over time, or into the areas where Federal money should be spent, according to professional or citizen value standards, or even into what "the metropolitan problem" is that "requires" Federal action. The authors' conclusions consistently outrun the data they present and they are somewhat cavalier in their use of adjectives. They write of such things as "inadequate" roads, "overcrowded" schools, and "substandard" housing. All of these are essentially relative concepts, usually measured against a culturally or professionally defined standard. Yet they are here treated as if the optimums were known objectively. The "urgent problems" described are by and large the routine results of metropolitan living in a nation with a rapidly growing population. These problems will never be "solved" with finality, as the authors almost seem to suggest would be the case if the Federal government lent a hand (and several billions of dollars).

Many of the arguments presented are aimed at enlisting the aid of the Federal government in achieving, within metropolitan areas, greater "efficiency and economy" of local government, more effective long-range planning, and—the authors hope—more orderly, more beautiful communities providing a higher level of services than is now the case. But the Federal government has not been highly active in helping to provide metropolitan services. Why? The authors find the fault in ineffective lobbying and in the failure of Presidential leadership. They present good cases to support both claims, but they fail to emphasize that these are, in turn, the results of a lack of demand among metropolitan citizens for such action. Urban residents could probably get the Federal government to expand its activities—the persistent, well-organized opposition of low-tax interests notwithstanding—if they valued such action highly enough. Other groups that are firm of purpose and reasonably clear of goal get action from both Congress and the President. If the demands for assistance become strong enough and well-oriented enough, the ineffective lobbying and executive inertia that the authors object to will vanish. Their study provides many clues to the types of programs that might then follow—and to the kinds of things that might be done while we wait for the klaxon to sound.—CHARLES R. ADRIAN, *Michigan State University.*

Administrative Law and Government. BY KENNETH CULP DAVIS. (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. xxiv, 547. $10.00.)

Several years ago readers of this REVIEW were entertained, if not enlightened, by a vigorous exchange between Professor Davis and several teachers of public administration. The burden of his specific charges was that several political scientists who wrote textbooks on public administration were guilty of ignorance, error and nonsense in what they said about administrative law. In reply, the political scientists charged that Davis' approach to administrative law was impossibly narrow and incapable of providing an adequate understanding of how governmental policy is formulated and executed. The issues were not joined, and the disputants succeeded for the most part only in talking past each other.

Comes now Professor Davis with an abridgment of his *Administrative Law Treatise* (4 vols., 1958). He uses the same thirty chapter titles, into which he introduces a combination of text, cases, and problems. In his words, this book is "for liberal education . . . designed for political science instruction in administrative law . . . to develop understanding . . . how to resolve controversies, how to discover what is justice, how to make decisions in concrete cases outside the legislative branch . . . how to reconcile desires for freedom with demands for positive government . . . how to formulate policy that will reflect both a democratic will and the expertness of specialists . . . in short, exposure to and training in the basic problems of accommodating conflicting goals (pp. 3–6). He argues that economists and sociologists need legal training in order to relate their thinking to the legal processes which are indispensable to carrying out their proposals. "Thinking about social science is usually unreal unless it is addressed to the whole problems, and whole problems include the means for carrying out proposed solutions." For political scientists, "law study helps . . . to avoid excessive abstraction and generality, for one of the primary functions of the lawyer is to transform abstraction into concreteness; when an abstraction is not susceptible of specific application, it is usually in need of reexamination. . . . General principles are often half-truths until they have undergone modifications that result from attempts to apply them in real-life contexts." This book clearly is no vocational training manual for the legal practitioner.

If the problems and cases of administrative law are relevant to some of the most basic questions of man's relations with society and government, by what methods does Professor Davis propose to instruct liberally-educated social scientists? His assumption is that the subject shall be the decision-making process exemplified by American courts, mostly appellate. Courts are observed to follow two approaches: one, the analytical, applying logic or reasoning to previously established authoritative materials (decisions, constitutional and statutory provisions), and two, policy thinking about alternative ways of deciding upon the facts of controversial cases. Although Davis says that in the law the analytical or logical method is quantitatively the more important, he says it does not and should not control the way the educated man thinks about a problem. "The educated man is one who knows how to use the analytical method *without being unduly confined by it* . . . the best minds have learned how and when to use that method and how and when to go beyond it."

There are 269 problem-questions in the book, and Professor Davis does not promise that the student will have met the requirements when he has answered them all or any proportion of them. Indeed, he suggests that a knowledge of the history, trends and forces behind the rise of administrative law (over one-third of Supreme Court decisions involve review of administrative action) is necessary also; he asserts that a knowledge of judicial attitudes and methods may be more important than mastery of the substantive rules. But *he does not incorporate these materials in his book*. What we have here, then, is not an attack upon or an invasion of the sacred precincts of political or social science, but an authoritative presentation of the values of the legal training; a series of fascinating, ingenious, empirical exercises in policy-choosing; a critical indoctrination against speculative and conceptual thinking, apart from the materials and premises of the higher courts; a sceptical attitude toward the utility of social science generalizations in helping judges and lawyers to decide what the law is or should be in specific cases; finally, a formidable challenge to political scientists to put their models, hypothetical curiosities and findings of fact about the processes of public decision-making upon as firm a foundation as the lawyer's knowledge and training in the judicial institution. The teaching instrument Professor Davis has put in our hands is monumental and authoritative. To this reviewer the major disappointment is his failure to recognize explicitly and to clarify the relation of law to the political order; one suspects that to him the distinction lies between clear and muddled thinking.—AVERY LEISERSON, *Vanderbilt University*.

The Question of Government Spending. BY FRANCIS M. BATOR. (N.Y.: Harper, 1960. Pp. xvii, 167, $3.75.)

This highly compressed volume accomplishes two useful purposes. It puts together E. R. A. Seligman's forgotten theory of public wants (*Political Science Quarterly*, 1926) with Keynes' macroanalysis to establish the premises of the anti-orthodox view of public expenditure. Secondly, it examines the quantitative record of public spending in the United States since World War II, and assesses the evidence against four major attacks upon government spending as: (1) a primary cause of inflation, (2) a "robber" of private consumption, (3) an illegitimate invader of the consumer's sovereign prerogative to make economic choices, (4) an inefficient instrument for the allocation of scarce resources. While the author only partially succeeds in "narrowing the area of controversy to what is really irreconcilable," he is remarkably successful in reducing to its essentials the position symbolized by Hansen and Galbraith in the public spending controversy over the last twenty years. In Bator's view, "as a society, we are within wide limits free to choose how much of our substance to devote to public against private purposes, and, by vigorous exercise of the fiscal and monetary powers of government, to make good on the choice without resort either to inflation or to direct controls" (p. 63).

California Local Finance. BY JOHN A. VIEG AND ASSOCIATES, Claremont Social Research Center of the Associated Colleges. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960. Pp. viii, 418. $7.50.)

The General Property Tax: Findings of the 1957 Census of Governments. BY FREDERICK L. BIRD. (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1960. Pp. iii, 83. $3.00.)

Despite per capita personal income 24 per cent higher than the national average in 1958, local governments in California face serious financial difficulties, according to the six authors of *California Local Finance*. These difficulties may be due partly to a fiscal history characterized, in a phrase originally applied to Los Angeles, by "inflation, influx, and improvements." The authors attribute the problems also to deficiencies in governmental organization and an obsolescent tax system.

The authors stress that, when corrected for price increases and population growth, current operating costs of local government in California have changed little over the past two decades. Capital outlays have increased substantially. The distinction between current and capital expenditures, although significant in some respects, offers little comfort for the taxpayer, and concentration on current expenditures may be misleading since they do not include provision for depreciation of buildings and other capital items. Statistical analysis shows that among California cities per capita operating costs are most closely related to assessed value of property—that is, to the availability of revenue—with the degree of industrialization and population comparatively minor factors.

The local sales tax has become important in California, but the property tax remains the chief source of local revenue. The authors, like many previous writers, consider the property tax deficient in principle and in administration but apparently indispensable. They recommend improvements in property tax administration and wider use of business license taxes.

State grants-in-aid and shared revenues represented 35 per cent of local revenues in California in 1957, and two-thirds of the state's general fund expenditures were committed to local assistance. Much of the state aid goes to wealthy districts, and wide variations exist in local tax rates and in expenditures for education and other purposes. The study recommends revision of aid formulas to place more emphasis on equalization, consolidation of school districts and other units, and increased reliance on shared revenues.

This study places at the disposal of California citizens many pertinent facts and enlightening points of analysis. It should contribute to informed discussion of local fiscal problems. Students of local government and public finance will find the volume interesting as a case study of a large state and also for its skillful use of economic and statistical reasoning in a report addressed to a wide audience.

Frederick L. Bird's monograph supports the view of the Claremont group that the property tax is far from an ideal measure but shows that the tax is reasonably well administered in some jurisdictions. Bird summarizes in convenient form the valuable findings of the 1957 Census of Governments on property tax revenues and assessments and relates these data to fiscal developments and literature. Readers are given ready access to a large body of information on the nature of the property tax and its administration.—Richard Goode, *The Brookings Institution.*

State Income Tax Administration. By Clara Penniman and Walter W. Heller (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1959, Pp. xiii, 280. $7.50)

Miss Penniman is a political scientist and Mr. Heller, an economist. Their combined backgrounds and insights have produced a first-rate study in an area that has long been neglected by students of public finance and public administration. Moreover, the authors have brought to an intrinsically arid topic a most felicitous writing style; the result is a highly readable volume.

State income taxes, both personal and corporate, are of growing importance, not because the non-income taxing states are rushing to adopt these levies but because the states that have income taxes are broadening their coverage and strengthening their administration. Also, state income taxes have an elasticity that exceeds other state revenues. Each one per cent growth in gross national product in the years since World War II has brought a 1.7 per cent increase in state personal income tax yields.

The authors' examination of this fiscal instrument is not on a state-by-state basis, but in accordance with the organizational and administrative problems posed by the tax. Separate chapters examine, with appropriate comparative material, such topics as management aids employed in administration, personnel policies affecting revenue administration, procedures in compliance activity, auditing and withholding. The authors reach conclusions about the quality of state income tax administration. New York, California, Wisconsin, Oregon, Minnesota and Massachusetts are judged to do a generally good job, and almost all of the states have improved in the last 20 years.

The section of the volume of particular interest to the political scientist is that devoted to intergovernmental relations. The inquiry here is: what has been done and what remains to be done in adapting income tax administration to a federal structure? Although intergovernmental administration is more highly developed in this area than in any other, the record of accomplishment leaves much to be desired. A great many states have an exchange of specific information with the Internal Revenue Service but only Wisconsin and Minnesota, and these very recently, have worked out a full reciprocity in their relations with federal administration. Cooperation among the income tax states themselves is minimal; it is difficult to explain why some of the obvious techniques for an interstate exchange of information have not been adopted.

The volume contains a set of recommendations that would bring further administrative improvements, but in these the authors are by no means doctrinaire. There is no proposal here for a single best pattern for state revenue organization. The authors are not certain that the suggestions to conform state income tax bases to the federal base, which would greatly simplify state administration, should necessarily be adopted. The federal income tax base is sufficiently eroded and shot through with concessions that it might be well to assert states rights in the choice of tax base. Taxpayer convenience and administrative simplicity, while important, should not control state tax policy.

There is general optimism here about the future of state income taxes and their administration. It may only be hoped that the authors are correct in their feeling that the states have the administrative potential needed for continued strengthening and improvement of this imporant source of revenue.—JESSE BURKHEAD, *Syracuse University.*

Workmen's Compensation: The New Jersey Experience. BY MONROE BERKOWITZ. (New Brunswick. N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. 281. $6.00.)

This is a valuable scholarly study of major policy and administrative issues in a large state program. As similar programs exist in every state of the Union, the study offers important lessons on a national scale. At many points, useful comparisons are made with experience of other states. The author, a Rutgers economist, understands the crucial role of administration in policy development and presents a detailed review of its evolution in this half-century-old program. He portrays the intricacies of a program involving considerable adversary proceedings and whose financing and even administration are entrusted mainly to private instrumentalities. He makes clear the policy consequences of this type of structure. As every decision directly and measurably affects individual employer costs and employee income, the stakes and pressures of interest groups are continuous and intense in both legislative and administrative processes.

Of particular interest to political scientists are the problems of institutional behavior which emerge from the book. Workmen's compensation was the pioneering labor legislation and the first social insurance program in the United States. In the intervening years, new programs have developed which in part duplicate and in part modify the program. New technology, like physical rehabilitation, has demanded some revised purposes for the program. New industrial hazards, like ionizing and x-radiation, have challenged a basic assumption of the program, that occupational or non-occupational causes of disablement could be clearly established. Such developments have created severe problems of institutional adjustment to new requirements. The story in New Jersey, as elsewhere, is largely one portraying the rigidity of established patterns and the persistence of obsolescent forms.

The author wisely does not confine himself to internal reforms but gives thought to the larger question of the continued social appropriateness of the basic program. All social scientists will profit from a better understanding of the American workmen's compensation experience, to which this empirical study makes a solid contribution.—HERMAN M. SOMERS, *Haverford College.*

Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads, 1800–1890. BY CARTER GOODRICH. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 382. $7.50.)

In brief outline the author explains the role of federal, state, and local governments in the development of inland transportation in the United States during the nineteenth century, relating their activities with those of private enterprise. Insufficient capital and lack of experience in the use of the corporate form to mobilize and manage resources required for large undertakings forced Americans to follow a different path from England where private enterprise provided almost all the canals and railroads. In a country that is still regarded as the historic stronghold of laissez faire in the nineteenth century Americans took financial aid from every available source without regard for principles involved. Canals and railroads were often developmental; investors could not hope for immediate returns on their investments. Hence, from the conquest of the Appalachian barrier to the challenge of the mountain masses blocking the way to the Pacific, *traditional individualism bowed to the powerful urge for national development.*

This account of how Americans met the need for inland transport focuses on the timely and controversial issue of competition and cooperation between government and business. It could be of help in guiding underdeveloped countries that are currently going through a developmental stage comparable to that of this country in the last century.—HERBERT WEAVER, *Vanderbilt University.*

Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800–1865. BY CLIFFORD S. GRIFFIN. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 332. $6.00.)

With the decline of the early colonial theocracies of New England, the Puritan elect lost their political power. No longer could a few of God's stewards enforce a restricted morality on the growing number of sinners who fell prey to the secularism and skepticism of the Enlightenment. But, according to Professor Griffin, the inheritors of the theocratic tradition, the perennial "trustees of the Lord," regrouped in the early 19th century, utilizing newly formed benevolent societies to persuade or, ultimately, to force other men to behave. This book is primarily a history of eight of their societies—the American Education Society, Home Missionary Society, Bible Society, Tract Society, Sunday School Union, Peace Society, Society for the Promotion of Temperance, and Antislavery Society.

Sanctioned by God, but also justified by a need to preserve order and protect their property, these prosperous trustees carefully organized their societies, selected their agents and representatives, and then launched a co-ordinated propaganda campaign against sin, hoping to "direct and control the complex, tumultous American nation." But persuasion often failed, and the righteous trustees of public morality turned once again to political coercion as the only effective way "to change other men's lives." The latter half of the book depicts the legislative drive for temperance, Sabbath laws, and, soon dominating all, abolition. According to Griffin, the work of these benevolent societies culminated in the emergence of the Republican Party, which embodied the staid, conservative, intolerant, Northern self-righteousness of the trustees. The Civil War became a Christian crusade, providing the trustees later opportunities to mold the South into their narrow religious, moral, and economic patterns. Griffin only hints at the continued and seemingly sinister influence of the trustees in modern America.

At places brilliantly written, always thoroughly researched, this book is an important and needed contribution to American social history. Yet, Griffin probably overestimates the importance of his nebulously defined trustees and, at the same time, is decidedly unsympathetic toward anyone who wants to convert or change the behavior of others. The trustees therefore emerge not only as self-righteous, pompous asses, but as calculating, almost totalitarian, would-be dictators who use both propaganda and force to violate other men's privacy. No clear distinction is made between persuasion and coercion in behalf of broad public necessities, to achieve narrowly defined and largely selfish ends, or simply to help a sinner get to heaven.—PAUL K. CONKIN, *University of Maryland.*

The Idea of Continental Union: Agitation for the Annexation of Canada to the United States 1849–1893. BY DONALD F. WARNER. (Lexington, Kentucky: published for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by the University of Kentucky Press, 1960. Pp. ix, 276, $5.00.)

This scholarly monograph was awarded the first annual prize of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. It is a study of the efforts of dissatisfied minorities in Canada to effect a political or economic union of Canada with the United States. The spirit of manifest destiny in the United States during the nineteenth century appeared to include Canada among its ultimate objectives, but without exception the movements described in this volume received surprisingly little encouragement or support in the United States. This is, therefore, essentially a chapter in Canadian history.

After a few introductory paragraphs summarizing American interest in acquiring Canada prior to 1820 and describing the economic interdependence of the St. Lawrence Valley and the region around the Great Lakes, the author considers in detail some half dozen specific movements to bring about the union of some part or all of Canada with the United States. Chronologically, these movements spanned half a century; geographically, they spanned the continent from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. Despite differences in time and place, these movements followed a similar pattern. They arose primarily from economic distress, with political discontent and religious friction sometimes added factors. They were uniformly doomed to failure; and they had little effect upon the course of events in the United States. To some extent, therefore, this is a history of frustrations, but the efforts to achieve "continental union" did hasten the extension of self-government to British North America and the creation of the Dominion of Canada. They also stimulated the rise of that Canadian nationalism which is evident in the present century.

This volume is based on careful research in the papers of prominent Canadians, pertinent official documents, and a representative group of Canadian and American newspapers. It is a straightforward narrative which so clearly tells its story that little interpretation is required. It will be a useful addition to the literature of Canadian and American history, and it promises to become the standard account of the futile efforts to bring to North America the political and economic unity for which geography seemed to provide a basis.—HAROLD W. BRADLEY, *Vanderbilt University.*

Republican Ascendancy, 1921–1933. BY JOHN D. HICKS (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xvi, 318. $5.00.)

This work is a volume in The New American Nation Series of historical studies. It is presented by a seasoned scholar who was exploring the agrarian crusade on his own account during the period of Republican power from Harding to Hoover. With a balanced perspective of economic and social trends, it offers a critical and documented picture of politics in high and low places.

With no aversion to muckraking, Professor Hicks gives lively details and comments on unwholesome influences on government of the times in both domestic and foreign affairs. "To the victors belong the oils" is one of the pointed quotations he uses, with application at home and abroad. He does not hesitate to suggest the future cost to America and the West of an emphasized isolationist policy under these administrations, and he finds in the 'twenties a sowing of depression crops to be reaped in the 'thirties, as the nation moved from "normalcy" to disillusionment. He gives credit to whom credit is due for the Washington Conference of 1921–22 and for the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. He notes the impact of the automobile, the airplane, and radio on American life and culture in these days of business and mechanization, with accompanying factors of "social insecurity," and he offers an appropriate chapter on "The Other Americas." His style is above the textbook level.—H. C. Nixon, *Vanderbilt University, Emeritus*.

The CIO Challenge to the AFL. A History of the American Labor Movement. 1935–1941. By Walter Galenson. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 732. $9.75.)

A few years ago in some published reflections Professor Galenson called for a "real renaissance" in the writing of labor history, warning that " . . . unless we learn more about [the trade union's] antecedents and its motivations, about how it really operates, economic and political theory will tend to become ever more unrealistic." With this volume (one of a series of studies being undertaken at Harvard on recent history of labor-management relations in the U. S.) Galenson has himself provided a substantial stimulus toward such a renaissance. To his own extensive research on previously unavailable materials from the files of national unions and the rival federations, he has skillfully added the fruits of previous published studies. The result is the most comprehensive and authoritative description we now have of those waves of union organization and industrial conflict during the latter 'thirties which, as Galenson remarks in the preface, produced in less than a decade "an almost revolutionary change in the power relationships of American society."

The bulk of the book, after a chapter on the emergence of the CIO and its subsequent relations with the AFL, consists of seventeen chapters on unionism in particular sectors. Ranging in length from some 70 pages to less than 20, these are masterful expositions of developments in particular union jurisdictions, conceived and executed in a manner which illuminates interactions with broader political and economic influences. Some of these more general aspects are then given separate consideration in a long, but still all too brief, final chapter.

In general, Galenson may be said to offer his history "straight," concentrating on the problem of achieving a coherent and meaningful narrative of significant events. The surpassing quality of his product depends upon an intricate process of distillation and blending under the firm hand of a master. Questions about the precise proportions Galenson has employed (*e.g.*, the Automobile Workers alone are accorded as much space as is given to the Machinists, Teamsters, and Building Trades together) seem to lose their urgency in the face of the splendid achievement of the work as a whole.

One would like to predict that this book will find a prominent place in the reading of political scientists. There are relatively few single volumes which have so much to offer to students of political and economic behavior. The CIO challenge to the AFL in the 'thirties stands today as a continuing challenge to all concerned with the analysis of organizational behavior and public policy.—Mark W. Leiserson, *Yale University*.

Communism in American Politics. By David J. Saposs. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 259. $5.00.)

This volume is an extension, or continuation, of the author's *Left-Wing Unionism*, published in the mid-1920's. After historical introduction, the author takes us to the state of Washington in the 1930's and 1940's to witness the birth, fruition, and eventual collapse of the Washington Commonwealth Federation. The story of how the Communists infiltrated the movement and finally captured it is told with telling effect. Next the author moves on to California, where he is especially effective in dealing with the Communist Party Political Commission of Los Angeles County.

Then Dr. Saposs gives his attention to the Farmer-Labor Association and its affiliates which were used by the Communists to gain control of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. The Communists infiltrated, took over, and wrecked this once great party. How this was done, why it was done, and who did it—are spelled out in specifics.

The American Labor Party, that young Paladin on whose shoulders rested so many heroic hopes and promises, deserves and receives four excellent chapters from the author. The bitter infighting among labor leaders, the confusion on the part of the major parties about electoral alliances, the brutal and effective subsequent actions of the Communists are all told here. It is a sad, disheartening story, but one from which labor leaders and liberals both learned a needed lesson.

This book also provides the best treatment now in print of the Wallace movement of 1948. Set in a realistic domestic and international context, the roles of the Communists, of the innocents, and of Henry A. Wallace are objectively and thoroughly explored.—MURRAY S. STEDMAN, JR.

Labor in a Free Society. MICHAEL HARRINGTON AND PAUL JACOBS, editors. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959, 186 pages. Hard back $3.00, Paperback $1.50.)

These are the formal papers presented to an Arden House conference sponsored by the Fund for the Republic as part of its Basic Issues enterprise. The title could be more appropriately stated as "Unions in a Free Society" because this is what the volume is mostly about. Clark Kerr's brief foreword raises the major issue: the "definition of freedom for the production worker in a time when individual self-sufficiency gives way to dependence on collectivities of one sort or another." Erich Fromm's essay treats "the phenomenon of alienation." The modern worker is alienated from his job and exposed helplessly to manipulations by industry, by union, by government. "He is caught in the net of bureaucracy: he is the alienated mass man, headed in the same direction of human automation as the whole society."

In Sumner Slichter's judgment the position of the unions in the American economy "is very strong, or too strong for their good." This strength is limited to the blue collar sectors with only limited penetration in the white collar field. The position of the unions in the economy is also diluted by their "very limited political strength, and the political influence of unions seems to be diminishing rather than growing."

Archibald Cox focuses on the extent to which government, specifically the federal government, must intervene in the public interest to protect union democracy. He sees the need for substantial intervention to provide procedural safeguards in the disciplining of union membership, in the conduct of union elections, and in the imposition of receiverships by the national union over subordinate bodies. Legislation carefully drafted would strengthen democracy in the union without weakening the unions or "impairing their independence."

The complexities involved in distinguishing between individual interests and public interests in the industrial relations setting are explored by David L. Cole. Cole utilizes his experience as a fact-finder in the New York transit dispute as a case problem. From this experience he questions "whether individual interests may be indulged to the point where the essentials of industrial democracy may be seriously in danger or even destroyed, and where obligations of organized groups of citizens to the community as a whole are involved."

Arthur J. Goldberg's presentation is labeled "a trade-union point of view." Goldberg questions whether it is true, as has been commonly accepted, that labor's fighting days are over and that unions are all generally accepted. He doubts whether the public interest will be served if the private law of collective bargaining is replaced by public standards which have no relevance to the real problems. He doubts too whether there are general standards of union democracy which can be uniformly applicable to every union situation.

British and Australian experiences are explored for their relevance to the American scene by Hugh Clegg and James R. McClelland, respectively. Clegg concludes that British policy should be directed at the protection of members' rights rather "than by seeking to provide trade unions with a mechanism for insuring the real choice for their members on all major issues of policy. For most of the time in almost all trade unions, this is impossible; but trade unions are not thereby condemned to unrelieved authoritarianism." In Australia the government has penetrated deeply in union rights and functions. McClelland does not find that the essential power of the unions to represent their membership has been thereby impaired. At the same time a measure of protection that did not exist before has been accorded individual members.

Labor in a Free Society represents an important and impressive collection of ideas on the role of the union in the society, although I do not agree with some of them. The power of unions, I think, is exaggerated, mostly because the major focus is on the public performance of national trade union leaders. The insecurity of the union in the plant, in relationship both to its own members and to the employer is hardly perceived. Except for Cox no one really comes to grips with freedom as an operational concept or as a clearly visualized human condition, and Cox necessarily limits himself to the dimension of freedom in labor law.

With two possible exceptions—one of them a labor lawyer—a consensus of intellectual, pro-labor opinion views the union as a power-oriented institution. Whether this is so or not on the facts is of undeniable importance, but it is also important that in contrast to twenty years ago, contemporary intellectuals think of the labor movement as a giant power complex comparable to business and government.—JACK BARBASH, *University of Wisconsin.*

America Votes, Vol. III. COMPILED AND EDITED BY RICHARD M. SCAMMON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960. Pp. xi, 465. $12.50.)

The Governmental Affairs Institute continues to place the profession deeper in its debt by bringing down to 1958 the basic project of cumulating in one handy reference volume the basic statistics of the presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial and congressional vote, by states, since 1946. For the most recent election, the presidential, gubernatorial, and senatorial vote is given by county, and in the largest cities by ward. The congressional district maps add to the appearance and usefulness of the work.

The Book of the States: 1960–61. Volume XIII. (Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1960. Pp. ix, 576. $9.00.)

Coverage of this biennial standard reference work on the organization, administration, financing and activities of the 50 American states extends into 1959. Two supplements in 1961 will bring down to date the 75 page state-by-state directory of elective, legislative and administrative officials. As in the past, ⅝ of the book is organized on a topical, comparative, summary basis applying to all the states. The several sections are written by experts, some academic, some in governmental research, some in direct administration. The most common attribute of the authors is affiliation with some voluntary inter-state organization of officials interested in a functional activity of state government. The latest edition of the *Book of the States* reinforces one's conception of the monumental coordinating role played by the Council and its staff, in research, standards and policy, for multifarious associations of American state officials, heading up in the annual meetings of the Governors' Conference.

The Politics of National Party Conventions. By Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain. (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1960. Pp. xi, 274. Paperback $1.95.)

This paperback edition has been prepared by Mrs. Kathleen Sproul. It is a *condensation,* not a revision or popularization, of the comprehensive scholarly volume published in January 1960, and reviewed in the June issue. The pattern of chapters is the same, although the condensed version has only sixteen instead of nineteen. The price and format obviously render the book suitable for adoption as supplementary reading in courses on American government and political parties.

Money, Politics and Public Reporting. By Herbert E. Alexander. (Princeton: Citizen's Research Foundation, 1960. Pp. 87. $.50.)

One of the irritating problems of capitalistic democracy is that of campaign finance. The capitalistic lion (economic inequality) and the democratic lamb (political equality) are unhappy bedfellows. The interplay of pluralistic forces in an open society has an embarrassing way of reflecting economic power. After the Robber Barons made a shambles of agrarian democracy following the Civil War, political parties as other human institutions became dependent upon large "voluntary" contributions to operate. The resulting scandals shocked even those of callous conscience. Since 1907 each year has brought recurring proposals from ever-hopeful reformers to curb the grosser aspects of the engineering of the consent of the governed by a moneyed elite. Hailed as a final reform in 1911, the Corrupt Practices Act and its successors have proved singularly ineffective. Efforts to control by publicity the political influence of great wealth have failed.

Now, a Citizen's Research Foundation has been formed to study money in elections. Herbert E. Alexander in *Money, Politics and Public Reporting* has produced the first study under the auspices of this body. His report is based upon the assumption that regulation is the solution to big money in politics. Mr. Alexander gives an outline of a proposed plan to compel registration of all organizations engaged in politics, both in nominating and electing candidates. A set of detailed reports from each organization would be returned to the Library of Congress where all records would be available to the public. Once again, "pitiless publicity" is to be the sanction. Scant attention is given to the problem of parallel expenditures by organizations prohibited by law from doing so directly. The more severe the regulation, the greater the likelihood of driving campaign fund collection further underground, with bootlegging the probable result. This is in the American tradition of passing laws to destroy sin. No attention is paid to the possibility of government management of the air waves in a manner similar to the operation of navigable waters. Probably Mr. Alexander's proposals are as good as any that can be suggested though this reviewer prefers enforcement of the law by a judicial body as in England. Finally, laws of this nature are at best palliatives. Mr. Alexander's brochure will be useful primarily in demonstrating the complexity of this chronic problem of American politics.—J. B. Shannon, *University of Nebraska.*

Profile of American Politics. By E. W. Lefever and W. V. Hohenstein. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960. Pp. 361. $3.25.)

Readings and Projects in American Government. By L. H. Douglas, J. Hajda, and L. E. Lambert. (New York: American Book, 1960. Pp. 196.)

Although aimed at the introductory course, these two additions to the rapidly-growing body of selected readings on American government and politics are designed for different teaching uses, and probably are best suited to different educational levels. The Douglas, Hajda and Lambert collection is project-oriented, containing 20 short, well-selected excerpts; at the end of each the student is assigned a simple exercise rather less exacting than the well known Lane "case-book." With properly trained teachers, this book ought to be really inspiring to high school students either required or electing to take a course in government rather than "civics." The Lefever-Hohenstein volume follows the more classical tradition of college-level supplementary readings; it is most immediately comparable to *Macdonald, Webb, Lewis and Strauss*, but even more contemporaneous in its selections. The book is "problem-and-policy-oriented," but rather than assigning an artificial problem to the student to react to, its approach is to present an outstanding, contemporary authority in the act of thinking about a problem upon which his expertness is unquestioned.

SELECTED ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS ON
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE
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FOREIGN AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT

A Review of Elections: 1954–1958. Institute of Electoral Research. (London: Institute of Electoral Research, 1960. Pp. 79. 6 shillings).

This bulletin, prepared by Michael Kendall, is intended as the first of an annual series, each issue giving election results since the previous one went to press. Issue No. One contains the votes cast and seats won in the main elections in 29 non-communist countries during the 1954-58 period, plus "an indication of the electoral system used in each country, the political situation and the contesting parties." Brief notes are also included on the elections in ten communist countries during the same period, and there is a list of other countries in which elections took place but apparently no detailed information was available. The level of descriptive information is similar to that in the New York Council of Foreign Relations' *Political Handbook of the World,* although the focus here is on elections and electoral systems as such. The Institute, which is privately financed, is apparently an extension of the interests of Peter Campbell, who is named as chairman of the board.

Mexican Government in Transition. By Robert E. Scott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959. Pp. 333. $5.75.).

This analytical, closely reasoned study gives an accurate, detailed picture of the origins of the Mexican political system and of its operation as measured against the formal governmental structure and in the light of rapid socio-economic change. The author attributes the growth of political stability and democracy to gradual Westernization of Mexican society. Mexico, he says, has developed a system that "is both internally consistent and logical in terms of traditional Mexican values, as affected by the newer invading influences from outside and by some of the myths of the Mexican Revolution." (p. 33) Although personalism still plays an important role, institutionalization has proceeded apace, particularly in the dominant executive branch. No longer does Mexico require a charismatic leader as President in order to have stability; despite the continued importance of the official party as a source of presidential strength, the apparatus of the state is sufficiently powerful to permit even a weak or corrupt President to control the course of national policy for six years. Furthermore, the mantle of power is transferred in an election year without serious disruption of national life. Since 1929 when it was founded under another name, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has become an effective machine which through its three sectors—agrarian, labor, and popular—encompasses almost all major interest groups. Despite their absence from the formal party structure, business groups, organized in semiofficial chambers, also have a substantial voice in policy making. Important opposition parties, at present PAN and perhaps PP, have consistently failed at the polls largely because the overwhelming majority of politically active Mexicans find the PRI reasonably responsive to their demands. Eventually, however, two parties with similar programs will emerge in place of the present one-party system.

The only significant weakness of this book is the scant treatment given to the political role of the Mexican military. The author recognizes that military men are active in public affairs but does not explore the nature and significance of this participation. Yet it is precisely the apolitical role of the military that differentiates Mexico from the bulk of the rest of Latin America, since they have given strong and consistent support to constitutional government for a quarter of a century. On a few minor points this reviewer must take issue. The figures for the PRI's sector membership, particularly labor, are rough estimates at best, and the discussion of how the opposition obtained its few seats in the 1958 Chamber of Deputies does not distinguish between seats won in the elections and seats granted by the Federal Electoral Commission because of fraud.

On balance, however, this study achieves a high level of scholarship and is an outstanding addition to the growing number of studies of contemporary Latin America. The interest group approach used seems especially suitable for Mexico and could be applied profitably to other Latin American countries.—David D. Burks, *Washington, D.C.*

Tratado de la Ciencia del Derecho Constitucional. Argentino y Comparado. Tomo VII. Sufragio, Partidos Políticos, Grupos de Presión. By Segundo V. Linares Quintana. (Buenos Aires: Editorial ALFA. 1960. Pp. 718).

It is always difficult to assess the usefulness of a book touching on political science when the book comes from the pen of a Latin American colleague. Political science in Latin America is usually regarded as a not-very-respectable by-product of constitutional law. Segundo V. Linares Quintana, a member of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, is among the better known scholars in Latin America and has spent some time in the United States, including a guest lectureship ot the University of North Carolina. His work, *Government and Administration of the Republic of Argentina*, has since its publication in 1946 been considered one of the comparatively few works from Latin America that has approached the political process with something akin to North American technique.

The book presently under consideration is Volume 7 of a textbook on comparative constitutional law, this volume devoted to suffrage, political parties, and pressure groups. The volume consists largely of a massive compilation of constitutional provisions of various countries and extensive quotations from authorities in those countries. It is comparative in the sense of coverage but very little analysis has been undertaken by the author. It is admirably organized for purposes of classroom use.

The most useful parts, as measured by interest in this country, are those in which the author develops in some detail the suffrage and political party background in Argentina. There is a disappointing lack of reference to the Perón years; the author refers to this period by quoting extensively from a somewhat damning editorial from *La Nación* shortly after Perón's electoral legislation in 1951. The most disappointing feature of all was the almost complete omission of material on Argentine pressure groups in the final section devoted to that subject. The author is content merely to state that to an increasing extent political parties in Argentina are "being substituted, in great part, by pressure groups". To have launched into this subject with some substance would have made a great contribution to the knowledge of this vital area in the political process.

In summary, as a textbook in comparative law, this work should prove a valuable aid to law students in Argentina and elsewhere because of the wealth of material and opinions from many areas of the world. As a contribution to political science of the analytical-empirical variety it will occupy a less significant niche. Yet this is a promising step toward what we hope will eventually be great contributions from eminent Latin American scholars who have considerable intellectual talents, but who are at present engrossed in their immediate goal of providing education in law.—R. A. Gomez, *University of Arizona.*

Elementi Di Scienza Dell' Amministrazione. Frederick C. Mosher and Salvatore Cimmino. (Milano: Italy. Multa Paucis. 1959. Pp. 558. Lire 3200).

Italy not only fathered the realistic study of politics in the sixteenth century, but had already turned its keen attention to the modern science of administration long before Frank J. Goodnow published *Politics and Administration* in America in 1900. Nevertheless the abstruseness of European idealistic philosophy and the rigid pursuit of law and legal analysis on the Continent gradually stifled the study of public administration in Italy in the twentieth century.

Facing a country in which there were only six professorial chairs in political science and none in administrative science, the University of California at Berkeley joined resources with the University of Bologna in advising and assisting in the establishment of a singular public administration program in Italy under the Faculty of Law at Bologna. From its inception in 1955, however, the program was plagued by a dearth of reading materials in Italian on public administration. This very sound and sensible book goes a long way toward providing a basic text on the history, theory, and practice of administrative science for Italians.

Mr. Mosher, a skillful hand in American public administration, spent one year as the representative of the University of California at the School for Improvement in Administrative Sciences at Bologna and teamed up with a young Italian assistant, previously prepared at Berkeley and now the first *professore incaricato* (non-tenure professor) in the Faculty of Law offering courses in administrative science. Together they produced a well organized, heartfelt volume that proceeds knowingly along the path of theories about public administration, organization, management, and programming, with a chapter on decision-making, then into fiscal policy, budgeting, and personnel. There is a concluding chapter on research and methodology.

Although the book is intended for Italians and does, from time to time, illustrate from Italian, French, and British administration, the stamp of the American model is inescapable. White, Gulick, Simon, Barnard and others are all appropriately footnoted—and Americans outnumber Italians about two to one in the bibliographical appendix. Nevertheless the authors have conscientiously tried to develop a general theory about public administration, avoiding the jam of jurisprudence or the sociometrics of management that have underplayed the human content of administration.

To the authors administrative activity is an art, rather than a science: the art of giving expression and dynamic content to the great number of group forces, pressures, needs, and requests that govern an organization. The administrator must constantly redefine his own role, continually clarifying it in respect to emerging public needs. And they leave no doubt, whether in Italy or the United States, that his orientation ought to be toward the public interest, that his spirit should be one of public service.

While economists go charging off to underdeveloped lands with blueprints for capital formation and allocation of resources, political scientists had better give sharp attention to the quality of public administration in states whose lack of local government or representative organizations may soon spell disaster.

The authors of this book realize that American public administration is culture-bound, that its roots and reasoning may puzzle Italians, and that what is "transferable" from one people to another may be absurdly little. But here is a bold venture in setting the vital meaning of public administration before present-day Italian civil servants and Italian students, who have inherited a no-party government from the seeds of regionalism, fascism, and clericalism. It is sound technical assistance to present this wider view of history, comparative administrative experiences, and the ideal that can inspire to action. GERARD J. MANGONE, *Syracuse University.*

La IVe République. JACQUES FAUVET. Pp. 363. (Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, 1959. 12 NF)
The Fifth Republic, France's New Political System. NICHOLAS WAHL. Pp. 92. (Random House, New York, 1959. 95¢)

Both these books convey the deep involvement of their authors in the state and future of France. Jacques Fauvet's study is written, like Luethy's *France Against Herself* in a state of exasperation. Because of this it is probably the most incisive analysis of the failures of the Republic. The impotence of the regime to make decisions, the irritating tendency to postpone issues, the inability of the governments to implement the decisions taken, the continuous game of the *ministrables* and, what is more, their gradual alienation from the real problems facing the state, are all brought out with remarkable clarity. The Cabinet crises are carefully analyzed, the reasons why political forces were stalemated are discussed, and the growing apathy of the public is brought into light. Particularly worth reading are the chapters describing attitudes of the various Cabinets with regard to Indochina and North Africa where time after time the military and the colonial administrations took it upon themselves to make policy often in terms diametrically opposed to government directives so that there were virtually two governments—one in Paris and the others in Hanoi, in Rabat, in Tunis and finally in Algiers. The distinguished author and political analyst has given us the best study of the immobility of the Fourth Republic. But the volume is one-sided. For the study and the author's conclusions are in sharp contrast with some of the positive policy decisions that were made and vigorously implemented under the French Republic: economic policy, for instance, and more particularly the application of the Monnet Plan and the public investments that account today for the country's industrial reconstruction and prosperity. Also, in foreign policy, the adoption of the Schuman plan and later of the Common Market constitute policy landmarks. The same is true with the gradual disengagement of France from French Equatorial and Western Africa and the decisions made that led to the principle of independence of the African territories. Jacques Fauvet remains silent on some of these accomplishments or dismisses them only with a few words.

Fauvet's exasperation with the Fourth Republic gives place to Wahl's optimism for the Fifth. But the book itself can hardly convince the reader. It is only an addendum to the first-rate text (Beer and Ulam, *Patterns of Government*) in which the author himself contributed an excellent section on France. It is a very good summary of the new French institutions. Yet it is full of provocative insights that merited careful development and of value judgments that call for supporting evidence. For instance, the linking of the present nationalist current with urbanization and prosperity (and the decline of the rural elites and of "ideological" politics) with Gaullism and an emerging pragmatic, rather than ideological, attitude to problems, is a fruitful hypothesis. As for value judgments that sometimes obscure the otherwise careful presentation of facts and lead the author to make hasty predictions, few would agree that the present regime is "both effective and democratic"; that the Gaullists made "huge gains" in the November elections; or that they were "the most respected and the most intelligent" of the many groups that were plotting against the Fourth Republic; that the socialists were fortunate in having "the great asset of a realistic if uninspiring leader who has shown remarkable ability for keeping the party in line with the changes in French public opinion." It is also hard to reconcile the author's obituary of the Communist Party with the communist come-back in the municipal elections (which the author attributes to the "excellent Communist local administration") or the "nationalist spirit" with the same municipal elections in which, as the author himself admits, "the nationalist current was hardly noticeable." On the other hand, Wahl sees clearly that deGaulle and his Fifth Republic are far from solving the perennial task of consensus of the French body politic. The new Constitution simply underlines personal government and hence begs the question of institutional legitimization.—Roy C. Macridis, *Washington University* (*St. Louis*).

Der Bundesrat zwischen Politik und Verwaltung. By Karlheinz Neunreither. Studien zur Politik, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Politische Wissenschaft an der Universität Heidelberg, herausgegeben von Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Band 2 (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1959. Pp. 200. DM 19.80.)

Part of the material in this monograph was discussed by Dr. Neunreither in this Review last year (LIII, 1959, pp. 713–731). Because of the general excellence of the monograph, a further note is warranted here.

The author indicates in the Foreword that he will forego the traditional, constitutional law approach to the West German second chamber in order to study it in its political and administrative context. Institutional comparison is made with the two forerunners of the *Bundesrat* in German federal history, the Bismarckian *Bundesrat*, characterized by the hegemony of Prussia, and the Weimar *Reichsrat*, which hardly concealed the unitarism of the Weimar Constitution. Like both of these, the present *Bundesrat* is a permanent conference of delegates of the *Länder* governments. Unlike them, it has become an effective means for bringing the *Länder* into national policy making. Constitutionally, the Bonn *Bundesrat* is much stronger than the *Reichsrat* was; if its constitutional authority does not reach that of the Bismarckian *Bundesrat*, it approaches that level, and the disappearance of Prussia has strengthened the chamber considerably by giving all *Länder* relatively equal power.

Detailed information on the various *Bundesrat* organs is followed by a description of their role in legislation and administration. The upper house has grown from what its creators expected would be a deliberative, factual review body, inspecting the administrative provisions of federal legislation, to a genuine second chamber with responsibility and power. Accompanying this growth has come an equally unexpected involvement in national politics. Since *Bundesrat* members are delegated by the *Land* governments rather than popularly elected, the national parties have entered the *Land* elections on a massive scale in order to protect their positions in the *Bundesrat*. The effect of this entire development has been, on the one hand, to strengthen the protection of *Land* rights in the federal system, and on the other, to nationalize local politics.

A substantial appendix has been included containing three case studies as documentation on the relationships of the *Bundesrat* with other political and constitutional organs. Each case illustrates the predominance of a different influence on the chamber. The first, on the passage of the European Defense Community Treaty, is an example of the predominance of party influence. The second, a study of the bitter negotiations for a change in the respective tax shares of the federal and state governments, represents a naked confrontation of *Bund* and *Länder* interests. The third, on the dispute in 1955 over passage of legislation to establish quickly the nucleus of a new German army by means of volunteers (Freiwilligengesetz), shows the *Bundesrat* in its expert role; the government bill was hurriedly drafted and failed to meet *Bundesrat* standards.

The entire study is presented in a balanced and thoughtful manner. It is not only the best treatment of the *Bundesrat* now available from a political science point of view, but also provides a critique of the direction which West German federalism is taking.—D. R. Reich, *Harvard University.*

German Electoral Politics: A Study of the 1957 Campaign. By U. M. Kitzinger. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 365. $7.20).

This report on the 1957 Bundestag election in Germany achieves its objective of providing a study comparable with the Nuffield College series on British general elections. (The most recent of these British studies is D. E. Butler, *The British General Election 1955*, London: Macmillan, 1955.) The volume under review is more thorough and systematic than the only previous attempt at a study of German elections in English: J. K. Pollock (ed.), *German Democracy at Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955).

In successive chapters, U. W. Kitzinger describes the electoral law, inter-party negotiations, selection of candidates, campaign strategy and methods, and election results. Like the Nuffield series on Britain, this study includes three local studies of the elections in three constituencies. Methodologically, the most interesting feature of the book is an appendix in which the author attempts estimates on the elusive subject of campaign expenditures.

Kitzinger's descriptions of the parties' uses of polling, depth psychology, and mass propaganda based on commercial advertising techniques will be especially interesting for Americans who are concerned about the influence of Madison Avenue in American politics.

While this book is largely a simple descriptive study, several of Kitzinger's observations are of considerable interest. Particularly important is his explanation that the German Social Democrats stand to the "right" of the British Labour Party but that its public image is to the "left" of its actual position. "Those critics who asked the SPD to become a Labour Party and thereby meant that it should move to the 'right' largely missed the point. It was already to the 'right' of most of its voters. What was needed was not a shift of policy so much as an intensive effort of long-term public relations." (pp. 129–130).

The 1957 elections resulted in a majority for the Christian Democrats and representation for only four parties in the Bundestag. These results have led some observers to conclude that Germany is moving to a two-party system. However, Kitzinger's analysis of the returns leads him to reject this conclusion. He explains that the election results show merely an "intensified attraction of the CDU" which means that "an alternation in power between a Government and an Opposition party seems less likely after 1957 than after 1949." (p. 280)

This book is restricted to the 1957 elections, and makes no effort to analyze the substance of German politics. While more comprehensive and extensive work has been done recently by Germans, Kitzinger makes an important contribution by presenting his limited study in the English language.—Wilder Crane, *Vanderbilt University.*

Parteigruppen in der Gross-Stadt: Untersuchungen in einem Berliner Kreisverband der CDU. Schriften des Instituts fuer Politische Wissenschaft, Band 16. By Renate Mayntz. (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1959. Pp. x, 159.)

This excellent case study of a Berlin local party organization of the Christian Democratic Union by Dr. Renate Mayntz, *Privatdozent* in sociology at the Free University of Berlin, is a welcome addition to what little literature is available on present-day German local parties. Mayntz gives thorough and systematic coverage to all aspects of the organization and activities of one of the twelve West Berlin *Kreisverbaende* of the CDU. The data on which this study is based were collected over a period of almost a year by the analysis of party records, participant-observation at local party meetings, interviews with local party leaders, and a mail questionnaire which was sent to all members of one of the component branches of the *Kreisverband.*

The founding of the particular local party organization in 1945 (especially interesting in the case of a new party such as the CDU), the organization of the local party, as well as the social composition of the local party membership and the administrative district in which it is located, are described in Chapter I. The processes of recruiting members and of selecting local party officers are analyzed in Chapter II. This chapter, along with Chapter IV, which examines the operation of the internal party opinion and policy-making processes, deserves the closest attention. Chapters III and V deal with factors that make for integration and tension within the local party organization and the local district assembly (*Bezirksverordnetenversammlung*).

Mayntz finds that only a small minority of the CDU members took an active part in the activities of the local party organization, and that there was a high degree of continuity in the local party leadership. The party officers and active members were found to be of relatively higher educational and occupational status than were the inactives, and the former displayed a greater participation in organized political and social life generally than did the latter. Active and inactive members are also compared with respect to other demographic and attitudinal variables.

Dr. Mayntz has given us valuable insight into the workings of a German local party organization. She cautions against generalizing from her findings to other German parties or even to dissimilar units of the CDU. She sees her investigation as an exploratory study and calls for similar, comparative studies of the CDU, as well as of other German parties.—William E. Wright, *Vanderbilt University.*

Austrian Catholics and the First Republic: Democracy, Capitalism, and the Social Order 1918–1934. By Alfred Diamant. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 325. $6.50.)

This book is more extensive and more detailed than Professor Diamant's earlier monograph, *Austrian Catholics and the Social Question, 1918–1933,* which was reviewed by Bruce B. Frye in this Review, LIII (December, 1959), 1145–46. Specifically, the book adds considerable material on Catholic views of democracy and the Austrian corporative constitution of 1934.

Theresienstadt 1941–1945—Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft. By H. G. Adler. (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1955. Pp. 773. DM 38.00).

Die Verheimlichte Wahrheit—Theresienstadter Dokumente. By H. G. Adler. (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958. Pp. 372, iii. DM 38.00).

Kommandant in Auschwitz—Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen. By Rudolf Höss. Edited by Martin Broszat. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1958. Pp. 184).

Of all the concentration camps designed by Hitler and his henchmen, the Jewish settlement (so it was actually called on occasions) within the quaint and ancient ramparts of the picturesque fortress-city of Theresienstadt was doubtless the mildest and most autonomous. The history covered by these volumes began with the fateful decision to bring about the termination of the "Jewish question" by the elimination of non-Aryans. We know, but not in every detail, that on January 20, 1942, in Wannsee certain Nazi terrorists held a meeting which studied the methods of the mass destruction of Jews and other "subhumans." It was decided that the deportation of Jews should be effectuated forthwith, accompanied by a possibly total seizure of all of their belongings. The general direction of that *Abwanderung,* as the deportation was called euphemistically, was to be the "East," while the determination of the places was to be decided in agreement with the Wehrmacht. This strongly implies the participation in the conspiracy of at least several German army leaders. The minutes of the subsequent conferences attended by the German party leaders do not mention the plans for destruction. The necessary orders were given orally in great secrecy, as Höss relates in his incredible manuscript, to the circle of Nazi hierarchists taken into confidence.

Theresienstadt and Auschwitz had one thing in common. The actual dirty work had to be done by Jews. In spite of all deprivations and restrictions, countless humiliations and painfully, dangerously unsanitary conditions, life in Theresienstadt would have been tolerable because it was planned to be tolerable. It seems that Theresienstadt was planned to be the first ghetto, a model, as it were, which was to prove to the world that Jews remaining within the Hitlerite orbit could live, as it were, the Jewish Way of Life. The ghetto served also as a waiting room to Death. It was called "*Transport nach dem Osten*" (Transport to the East). The selection of those who had to join the *Transport* was left to the Jewish ghetto authorities, actually appointed by the Nazis from quite outstanding Jewish dignitaries. Just as in Auschwitz Jewish *Kommandos* had to lead their fellow prisoners to the gas chambers, had to carry the corpses to the ovens after they had broken out the gold in teeth and had collected the women's hair, so the Theresienstadt Jewish authorities had to select the victims and notify them, too. This was perhaps the most devilish of all the Nazi ideas. Let the victims-to-be-murdered murder each other! The SS, an invisible terror, was very seldom visible at Theresienstadt. They notified the commandant, leading SS officer Dr. Seidl (later hanged by the Czechs), of the number of people to be sent east. The prisoners then decided who was to go! Thereby was achieved the result of diverting the main fear and hatred of the victims, of their friends and families, away from the Nazis—in the first moments after the catastrophic letter-forms had been delivered to the transportees—against the Jewish "authorities."

Of dramatic and sinister grotesqueness is the description of the embellishment of Theresienstadt and its inhabitants on the eve of an inspection visit by Red Cross functionaries. Your reviewer hopes that many Red Cross workers will read Dr. Adler's volumes, for many contributors to that organization who may read the Theresienstadt Saga probably will demand certain reforms, so that never again assassins in uniforms may reckon with the silent collaboration of the Red Cross because of its functionaries' superficiality and complacency.

One objection against Adler's fascinating descriptions and thorough evaluations should be aired. In telling us the tragic destiny of so many of Theresienstadt's "residents" he leaves the impression that the torturers escaped without punishment. This is simply not true. After the liberation the allied international and national tribunals brought many "Kommandanten," "Sturm-scharfuhrer," "Inspektuere" and other criminals to justice. Neither the German nor the non-German reader should be left with the impression that crime pays or can be committed without later payment.

One of those who had to pay in April 1947—on the gallows of Auschwitz—was its enigmatic Kommandant, Rudolf Höss. Your reviewer believes that there are books above any literary criticism or evaluation; there are books beneath it; there are books just produced for and worthy of it; Höss' volume, written in the months between his trial and his execution, is simply beyond it. I quote from page 165 (in my translation):

". . . Experience has shown that the cyanacid compound Cyclon B causes a certain and quick death, especially in dry and tightly closed rooms, filled to capacity with individuals to be gassed and equipped with a maximum number of funnels. I never experienced—nor did I hear of—the fact that one single gassed individual was still alive one half hour after the gas had been spread through the funnels at Auschwitz.

". . . The Jews, destined for destruction, were quietly led—men and women apart—to the crematoriums. . . . After the undressing the Jews went into the gas chambers which, equipped with showers and waterpipes actually looked like bathrooms. First went the women and children, then the men, being less in numbers. There never was any restlessness, since the prisoners of the *Sonderkommando* and one SS remained with them in the chamber to the last moment. The door was locked quickly and from above the gas was thrown through funnels. Through the glass in the door one could observe that those just beneath and next to the various funnels immediately dropped dead. Round about one third. The others began to stagger, to scream and to choke. After 20 minutes there was no movement any longer. . . . Screaming, sick, weak persons and children fell more quickly than healthy and young persons. . . . One half hour afterwards the door was opened and the ventilation began to work. . . . The corpses did not show any distortions or unusual discolorations. . . ." Herr Höss protested violently the allegation that under his jurisdiction 2½ millions had been killed. He never was able to reach even the number 1,750,000!—ROBERT RIE, *St. Cloud (Minn.) State College.*

A Concise History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. BY JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR. (New York: Praeger, Inc. 1960. Pp. ix, 331, $6.00. Paperback $1.75).

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. BY LEONARD SCHAPIRO. (New York: Random House. 1960. Pp. xiv, 631. $7.50.)

Current Soviet Policies III. EDITED BY LEO GRULIOW. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 230. $6.00.)

Schapiro's mature, meticulous, masterful history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is indispensable, whereas Reshetar's is popularized and suggestive. Reshetar offers a valuable and substantial account, emphasising pre-1917 developments, including the anarchist, terrorist, liberal-democrat and revolutionary background, a good analysis of the similarities and differences of Leninism and Stalinism, and details of recent leadership controversies. Schapiro offers all this and much more. Schapiro goes beyond the Politburo and Presidium to tell us of local Party organs, details of Party organization, the relation of "Party" to "Government," the changing role of the Party, the stages of its development and history. His urbanity, and on occasion, wit, is more effective than Reshetar's often blatant anti-Bolshevism. Schapiro achieves a pleasing unity of viewpoint, analytical scheme and criterion of evaluation.

Schapiro's one weakness stems from his "principle" of triple causation. He lists *three* causes or factors for all of the following: difficulties in applying Marxist analysis to Russia; Lenin's personality; the fact that more police agents were found among the Bolsheviks than among the Mensheviks; the qualities of Lenin's leadership in 1917; the basis for control by the Party; heresies alleged against Trotsky; main effects of terror; the Party's conclusions from the experience of World War II; the fall of Malenkov; and Khrushchev on the tasks of ideology. The very list, however, suggests the range and depth of this fine book.

Schapiro extends himself beyond his self-imposed rule of three to adduce six main features of the CPSU in 1952, four of which have continued to the present: a "mass" élite party of substantial size and broad representation; predominance of an "apparatus" of officials and secretaries; centralization of that apparatus; personal ascendancy of Stalin, who ". . . could govern either through the party or without it, as he thought fit" (contrasted to Khrushchev today); relative decline in the influence of the Party, because the ". . . party apparatus [was] faced with the competition of the expanding government apparatus" (the Party has reassumed supremacy under Khrushchev); Party members "interpenetrate" all of the state's institutions and activities. In conclusion, Schapiro reminds us that, "Forty-one years after seizing power, after an industrial revolution and an educational transformation, the communist party of the Soviet Union retained all the features which Lenin had considered necessary in 1902."

The third volume of *Current Soviet Policies* delivers exactly what its subtitle promises: "The Documentary Record of the Extraordinary 21st Party Congress," and it thereby supplements Schapiro and Reshetar. It comprises mainly straight translation of the Congress proceedings (January–February 1959), enhanced by Mark Neuweld's useful, "Who's Who of the Central Committee," and Leo Gruliow's clear and excellent brief introduction. Control figures for the Seven Year Plan occupy a leading place in the translated record, but hundreds of scattered significant references to all sorts of subjects make careful reading and analysis indispensable.—Robert A. Rupen, *University of North Carolina.*

The Soviet Dictatorship. By Herbert McClosky and John E. Turner. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 657. $7.95).

In this extensive volume the authors have, to a not unimportant degree, achieved their goal "to produce a book that is both comprehensive and probing, a work to which a reader can turn for detailed information as well as for conscientious analysis of the distinguishing features of Soviet communism." The picture that emerges is that of a highly regimented nation, led by ruthless and dedicated men by virtue of their position in the omnipotent Communist party. The value of the work resides in the treatment of the manner in which the Soviet society is controlled—the careful consideration of the Communist party, the formal organization of the Soviet state, the informal system of control of the government, the direction of the economy, the straight-jacketing of thought and culture, and the systematic, omnipresent terror. On the credit side, also, belong the indication of the important shift in Marxist-Leninist ideology and tactics engendered by Khrushchev's particular "co-existence" theme, its stress on peace, and the acceptance of the doctrine of different roads to socialism. The "tricky" problem of the relation between Communist theory and Communist practice is set in good perspective.

There is no adequate treatment of international affairs, nor of the mechanics of conducting foreign affairs. Missing, too, is analysis and evaluation of the pride of the Russian people in their system's accomplishments in industry and science. Finally, it is regrettable, in a work which many students may profitably use as a text, that no briefly annotated list of books for further reading is appended.—Carroll Hawkins, *Michigan State University.*

India: The Most Dangerous Decades. By Selig S. Harrison. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 350. $6.50.)

This book is likely to disturb both Indians and friends of India. The author persuasively argues that India may not survive as a single national state and that if it does it is likely to be authoritarian. He believes that the decline of English, and the growth of regional languages, regional loyalties and regional parties is being accompanied by the emergence of regional elites whose political careers depend not upon their loyalty to the national state but upon their capacity to satisfy regional demands. The central government may find it increasingly difficult to divorce economic development decisions from parochial demands. The result is likely to be, according to Harrison, an intensification of state-central conflicts. In this maelstrom, he sees the Communists as a force capable of appealing to regional sentiments, while at the same time holding out the promise of a strong central authority. Harrison also fears the erosive effects of caste solidarity and the growth of caste lobbies which make it increasingly difficult for state governments to function effectively. Caste and language thus represent centrifugal tendencies.

To those who know the literature on India, this book may sound as if it were written by a 19th century English aristocrat with forebodings that India's continued unity rests upon the might of the British, the English language, and the "steel frame" of the Indian administration. But this would do injustice to Mr. Harrison who is not an English aristocrat but the associate editor of *The New Republic.* Though the arguments are old, his evidence is new. Regional languages, not Hindi, are replacing English as the lingua franca of India's intellectuals. Sixteen universities have already adopted regional languages in some non-scientific subjects. Faculty and student mobility across linguistic lines is likely to be further reduced. Political pressures for making knowledge of the regional languages, rather than English or Hindi, a prerequisite for employment in the state bureaucracies, and perhaps even in the center, are likely to grow. Even the mobility of the work force may decrease as states pass legislation reserving jobs in particular industries to "nationals" of the states.

The move toward regional languages and away from English represents more than cultural chauvinism, for the need is great for a leadership which shares the same language as the populace. India's dilemma, writes Harrison, is "that the linguistic precondition for making the leadership of the educated effective at the local level may prove incompatible with the need for cohesive political and administrative leadership at the national level." (p. 78)

Harrison's assumptions may be questioned. Do the multiplication of caste associations and caste conflicts in themselves represent any more of a threat to the viability of state political systems than the growth of ethnic associations did in the United States in the early decades of the 20th century? Furthermore, the reduction of mobility across linguistic boundaries may be regrettable, but can one assume that this in itself threatens national unity? The technical problems of communication are great but not insurmountable. Parochial demands on a national government concerned with national economic development is of course a major problem, but this is a general problem in a democratic system in which the demands of organized groups diverge from the public interest conceptions of national leadership. The requirements of central planning and the requirements of maximizing public support may not coincide. The price of national unity in India may not be authoritarianism, but a reduction in rigorous central planning.

Though one may question Mr. Harrison's conclusions, one cannot but admire the skill with which he portrays the development of new caste lobbies, relates voting behavior and political leadership to caste affiliation, and probes the strategy of the Communist Party as it operates in the midst of caste and linguistic loyalties.—Myron Weiner, *University of Chicago*.

Communism in South East Asia. By J. H. Brimmell. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 415. $6.75.)

Marxism in Southeast Asia: A Study of Four Countries. Edited with Introduction and Conclusion by Frank N. Trager. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. 381. $7.50.)

Each of these books is a substantial and valuable contribution to a field which has never previously been comprehensively covered. Both are primarily concerned with the historical development of Communism in the countries of Southeast Asia and its relationship to Moscow and Peking. Trager gives special attention to the impact of Marxist ideas on non-Communists as well as Communists.

Brimmell served for several years with the British Embassy in Moscow and later in Malaya, presumably with British Intelligence. He organizes his study into alternating sections, dealing first with international Communism's strategy and tactics at various stages and then with country-by-country treatments of developments during the periods relating to these stages—all of the countries of Southeast Asia being covered.

While serving as a consultant to the Rand Corporation, Professor Trager of New York University edited a book incorporating four major contributions. By John Seabury Thomson, David A. Wilson, I. Milton Sacks and Jeanne S. Mintz, these deal respectively with Marxism in Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia. They are bracketed by Trager's thirteen-page introduction and his sixty-page conclusion, "The Impact of Marxism: Historical Overview and Judgment."

Brimmell's analysis of Soviet and Chinese Communism's approach to Southeast Asia, and of relevant Leninist, Stalinist and Maoist theory and tactics, is more extensive and on the whole more solid and better balanced than that in Trager's concluding chapter. His treatment of Communism in Malaya is excellent, introducing new and significant data. However, he handles Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam less fully and less competently than the four specialists who contribute to the Trager volume, and his country coverage is in general weak in documentation. Although it is understandable that his official position precluded citation of many of his sources concerning Malaya, it is unclear why those he cites in dealing with the other countries are so meagre.

The four country treatments in Trager's volume are all substantial and for the most part solid and well-documented—monographs very much worth the attention of specialists as well as the general reader. Particularly noteworthy are Sacks' and Wilson's treatments of Marxism in Vietnam and Thailand—two of the best political studies of these countries yet to appear. Sacks presents a considerable amount of significant new data and some excellent analysis—the fruit of his many years of research on Communism and nationalism in Vietnam. Wilson identifies and analyzes with great skill those factors in Thai society which militate against the growth of Marxism, in the process shedding considerable light upon the general character and potential of political life in Thailand.

Both books, especially Trager's, give considerable coverage to Marxism's impact on ideology, but less attention than is merited to Communism's influence on political organization. Brimmell and Trager both sometimes make insufficient distinction between a local Communist party's receptiveness to Maoist ideas of strategy and tactics and its organizational linkages with Peking; the former need not, of course, entail the latter. Incidentally, in neither book do the writers indicate knowledge of the M.M.C. policy of the Indonesian Communist Party during 1952–53, a significant period during which something like a little Yenan was established in the area to the north of Mt. Merapi in Central Java.

Brimmell displays considerably more appreciation than Trager for the importance of local conditioning factors (although he has overlooked some significant ones), and his analysis is not marred, as Trager's is, by a tendency to view the Communist movements in Southeast Asia somewhat like robots plugged into currents emanating from Moscow and Peking. He concludes that:

Just as the pressure of Russian circumstances has modified Marxism into Soviet Communism, and that of Chinese circumstances has modified Communism in China, so, if Communism should triumph in Southeast Asia, it will be a different form of Communism again which ultimately arises.

Unfortunately, much of Trager's final chapter is less an evaluation of the sections of his four contributors than his own personal conjecture, with his speculation sometimes floating rather freely, well above the generally solid foundations they have laid, and moored to little evidence of his own. He credits Soviet leadership with much greater understanding of social and political conditions in Southeast Asia, and often with having much solider ties with local Communist parties, than is consistent with the evidence. To assert that since 1920 the Communist parties of Southeast Asia have "slavishly followed the Soviet and Chinese model" is to give the reader a most distorted picture of what happened. The quality of this sort of interpretation is hardly improved by Trager's final conclusion that "what appears to be developing in Southeast Asia is a tropical variant of the Scandinavian pattern."—GEORGE McT. KAHIN, *Cornell University.*

Cases in Vietnamese Administration. BY JOHN D. MONTGOMERY AND THE NIA CASE DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR. (Saigon, Vietnam: National Institute of Administration and Michigan State University. 1959. Pp. xix, 481.)

This useful volume, printed in both English and Vietnamese, is designed to introduce Vietnamese students to the American practice of observing bureaucracy at work. The editor of the volume, John D. Montgomery, contributes a skillful essay on the various approaches to the study of public administration and the advantages of the case method in particular. Material for the twenty cases was gathered through the combined efforts of the Vietnamese National Institute of Administration and the Michigan State University advisory group in Saigon. The volume is now being used extensively in Vietnamese universities, and will thus counterbalance or supplement the traditional emphasis there on formal or legal training. American political scientists will find the cases helpful in teaching courses on the administrative problems of developing nations.

The World of Islam. BY XAVIER DE PLANHOL. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 142. $2.00).

Islam and the Arabs. BY ROM LANDAU. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1959. Pp. 299. $4.95).

The first book, an essay on the geography of religion, is an original contribution to a recent subject of study. If Islam is taken in the broad cultural sense, not merely as a religion—as M. de Planhol's treatment of the subject indicates—the present work deals with the impact of geography on the rise, nature and development of a culture in which religious ideas and practices were predominant. The author stresses the viewpoint that Islam, contrary to the popular conception, was an urban religion and the "need of the city to realize its social and religious ideals" was essential. Yet, as the author rightly points out, there was an absence of municipal organization, and this affected the form and appearance of Muslim cities. "By virtue of its social constraints," says M. de Planhol, "as well as its spiritual demands Islam is a city religion. The city is a military fortress, but, more importantly, it is a pillar of the faith and a framework within which to live the good life." The true Moslem must lead a middle-class life in a city.

Yet paradoxically this "urban" religion has spread more rapidly in desert areas inhabited by nomadic tribes than in areas in which urban life prevailed. M. de Planhol gives some geographical explanation about the expansion of Islam in desert areas which are not altogether convincing, but he is not unaware of certain other social and psychological factors. "In the arid zone," says M. de Planhol, "Moslem methods of expansion could operate freely, and that is why this area was so easily conquered. The dense and coherent rural societies of Europe and monsoon Asia put up a ferocious resistance against the nomads, and that is why Islam could not overcome them." (p. 125). To this may be added the simplicity of the Islamic faith which was more attractive to nomads and primitive peoples than to nations who had already developed a relatively high degree of civilization.

It is perhaps unfair to the author of *Islam and the Arabs* to have his book reviewed with de Planhol's *World of Islam.* Mr. Landau, who made a reputation as a writer on Moroccan affairs, has written a popular book on the history and culture of Islam intended to be a text book for undergraduate college students. It is even doubtful that such a text book would be as useful as Bernard Lewis' *The Arabs in History,* since Landau's book lacks the perspective, if not the accuracy, of Lewis' book.— MAJID KHADDURI, *John Hopkins University.*

China: Its People, Society, Culture. BY CHANG-TU HU, *et al.* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. xv, 611, $10.00)

This volume is the sixth in the Survey of World Cultures series published by the Human Relations Area Files. Following the basic pattern of this series, the authors begin and end with chapters in which they present basic generalizations about Chinese society and culture, values and attitudes. The intervening chapters deal with history, geography, languages, nationalities, religion, social organization, a variety of political and economic topics, education, science and art.

Despite some efforts to relate traditional patterns to the contemporary situation, the work is mainly a description and analysis of the Chinese Communist regime since 1949. As such, it has the merit of presenting a more lucid, objective, and comprehensive picture than is found in any other study published in the past five years. Its broad sociological approach offers a somewhat different perspective than do previous major surveys of Communist China. The chapter on foreign affairs is a balanced account of a much debated topic, and, in other sections, data are provided on fields, such as public health, which are often overlooked. There are also some useful charts, particularly those dealing with minority nationalities, languages, the public security system and the press control apparatus. Tables at the end give statistical information on a number of topics, mostly economic. Some of the figures, however, are taken directly from Chinese Communist sources and so must be treated with some caution. Table three shows that the Communist Party had 59,000 members from 1924 to 1927. There were 59,000 members in early 1927, just before the final break with Chiang Kai-shek, but only about 10,000 as late as December 1925.

The product of several years of careful effort, *China*, nonetheless, suffers from falling somewhere in between a reference work and an analytical study, and from neither entirely meeting the needs of the specialist nor the general reader. Many factual data have been collected, but the uneven distribution of detail and often highly generalized treatment of subjects makes the book imperfect as a reference. This unevenness is partly attributable to difficulties in locating information, but not entirely. Thus attempts to enforce literary orthodoxy through the campaign against "Hu Shihism," the controversy over the eighteenth century novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, and the attack on the Communist writer, Hu Feng, are treated more fully than the still more important problem of the "blooming and contending" period of 1956–1957. Probably partly because of the system of multiple authorship, the inevitable special limitations on detail are not compensated for by sustained or unusually incisive analysis, nor is full use made of many insights found in recent monographs cited in the bibliography. The chapter on history, in particular, would have been far more useful if the authors had analysed key trends instead of trying to squeeze the chronology of four thousand years into twenty-six pages.

The specialist might look for either more precise factual detail or more trenchant analysis. Much of the material will be new to the general reader, but he is not likely to be interested in knowing that international news in the *Jen-min jih-pao* generally appears on pages five and six. He may often want fuller explanations. Most non-philologists, for example, will surely be convinced that Orientals are inscrutable after being told, without further elucidation, that Chinese characters "are divided into six main categories: pictographs, ideographs, compound ideographs, phonetic loan characters, phonetic compounds, and derivative characters." (p. 101)

In sum, *China* is a welcome supplement to existing accounts of Communist China, but its defects point to the current need for well-selected monographs in preference to surveys.—MARY B. RANKIN, *Radcliffe College*.

Federal Jurisdiction in Australia. BY ZELMAN COWEN. (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 195. $5.20).

Following the Canadian model, the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court extends to questions of state as well as national law. It has also been given a broad original jurisdiction, patterned after that of our own federal trial courts. High Court judges thus serve in dual capacities. Sitting individually or, in important cases, as a "full court" of two or more, they serve as trial court judges. Sitting collegiately, but not necessarily *en banc*, they hear appeals from state and territorial courts and the specialized federal courts for bankruptcy and industrial relations, and rule on cases "stated" or questions "reserved" by a single justice. Professor Cowen's thesis is that most of its original jurisdiction should be given to the state courts, the High Court becoming almost exclusively an appellate court.

He succeeds admirably in proving his point that "the Australian law of federal jurisdiction is technical, complicated, difficult and not infrequently absurd" (xii). He questions the logic of the rule that a corporation is not a "resident" for purposes of diversity jurisdiction, although he likes the result. Our court has been as severely criticized for reaching the opposite conclusion. The High Court has had the same troubles as our own in fitting territorial courts into the constitutional structure, and like ours has sacrificed formal logic to the dictates of common sense.

Professor Cowen justifiably attributes many of Australia's difficulties to a blind copying from us. His case would be more convincing if he did not rely so constantly upon equally inapposite references to the American scene. The High Court can as fairly be compared to our federal district courts as to our Supreme Court; perhaps more comparable than either would be the latter in the days of circuit riding. Nor will many American scholars be impressed by the assertion that our Congress lacks the Australian Parliament's "Authority to vest federal jurisdiction in state courts" (96). From the very outset Congress has reached the same result merely by failing to vest jurisdiction in the federal courts or by failing to make that jurisdiction exclusive. If any one doubts the legal authority of Congress to require state courts to exercise this jurisdiction, let him refer to *Testa v. Katt,* 330 U. S. 386 (1947).—J. A. C. GRANT, *University of California (Los Angeles).*

Law Among States In Federacy. BY WILLIAM GORHAM RICE. (Appleton: Wisconsin: C. C. Nelson, 1959. Pp. iv, 220. $5.00).

Swiss federalism is a most interesting subject, yet very little has been written about it in English. We know the broad outlines, but we lack detail. Mr. Rice deals with an important aspect of the subject which is probably least known but is by no means least interesting or instructive—the functions of the Swiss federal tribunal in deciding controversies between the cantons. This topic is of peculiar interest to Americans, for it invites comparison with the work of the Supreme Court of the United States in dealing with disputes between the states of the union. The situation in Switzerland, however, differs in many important respects from that in the United States, and it is these differences rather than the resemblances which stand out in Mr. Rice's analysis. He has produced a thorough and scholarly study. The materials upon which he had to work are varied and complicated and not the least interesting part of the book is his account of his sources and of the organization and procedure of the federal tribunal itself. It must be confessed, however, that the book is not easy to read. This is partly because Mr. Rice adopts what he called "rectified spelling"—"foran" for "foreign," "contry" for "country," "cort" for "court," "corse" for "course"—according to a system which he explains in his "foreword on form." He prefers to speak of "Switz" rather than "Switzerland." He explains that "the numbering of the pages of text and notes is geared to the chapters like the numbering of rooms to the flors of a modern bilding." As a result the book appears to have 1019 pages. These special features become less distracting after a time. Even so, there are many difficult passages of exposition where technicalities are inclined to overwhelm and mystify the reader.—K. C. WHEARE, *Exeter College, Oxford.*

European and Comparative Government. BY ROBERT G. NEUMANN. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Third edition, 1960. Pp. 885. $8.50.)

This third edition of a widely used text covers the political systems of Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union, with a final section of comparative analysis. Professor Neumann has brought up to date his discussion of all four political systems, but the chief interest of this new edition is the material on the Fifth Republic. The presentation is balanced, well-documented, sympathetic to the French position in Algeria, and laudatory of General de Gaulle. In dealing with the events of May 1958 he argues that the Fourth Republic had outlived itself; that nearly all Frenchmen turned to de Gaulle, who symbolized unity and strength amidst weakness and divisions; and that within a short time the crisis was overcome—all of which demonstrated the latent strength of the French nation. The argument certainly lends itself to class discussion! To say that even General de Gaulle's worst opponents concede he had "absolutely nothing to do with the rebellion in Algiers," is extreme. In general, however, Professor Neumann has maintained the high standards of the previous editions, and the book remains a good introduction to the study of comparative government.

Latin America. The Development of its Civilization. BY HELEN MILLER BAILEY *and* ABRAHAM P. NASATIR. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. Inc., 1960. Pp. 818. $7.95).

The authors of this work have created a first-class background book for any area of Latin American interest. It will prove excellent for support in Latin American civilization courses, history, political science and sociology. It scores very highly in format, coverage, taste, and balance. The major accomplishment of the book is its balanced investigation of the fact that in Latin America a "rich new tapestry" is being woven out of old materials in exciting new patterns. There is a heightening, as well, of the individual characters of the republics. Especially tasteful is the use of snatches of native poetry in such places as to indicate a sociological significance. Sections on cultural matters present an introduction to major creative forces in art, literature, and music. In addition to these features may be found the traditional historical coverage, brightly written, of the colonial, revolutionary, organizational and twentieth century periods.

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, LAW, AND ORGANIZATION

Nuclear Policy for War and Peace. By Thomas E. Murray. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1960. Pp. 244. $4.00.)

Here is a plea for rationality and morality in America's nuclear armament and disarmament policy. Mr. Murray, Atomic Energy Commission member from 1950 to 1957, discusses a wide range of issues resulting from the advent of atomic power. His treatment contains three principal elements: (1) In forming nuclear military strategy America has ignored "the moral question." (2) Technology has shaped defense policy rather than policy being a result of rational choice. (3) Secrecy has obfuscated and made undemocratic the atomic policy-making process.

Technology fostered a twentieth century concept of absolute war which the author believes was implicitly irrational and immoral. When nuclear power was wedded to strategic bombing the consequence was an explicitly immoral and ineffective strategy. He regrets that the first atomic weapons were used against civilian populations instead of military targets. He proposes a weapons program based upon his concept of "civilized warfare." He would stop testing and building "dirty" multi-million ton (TNT equivalent) weapons, negotiate with the Russians a mutual dismantling of megaton stockpiles, and would increase America's stockpile of "small," "discriminating" nuclear weapons for possible use against military targets. He thus joins the camp of the "tactical" nuclear warriors.

America's strategy of deterrence through the threat of massive retaliation is based upon a capability for the mass destruction of the Soviet Union and upon "the prospect of killing scores of millions of persons." This he feels is nonsensical, irrational, immoral. He argues, all the more convincingly because of his intimate involvement, that we are caught in "a technological runaway, and technology itself rather than strategic and moral reason has determined the shape of our weapons program and our defense policy." He notes, in retrospect: "How much more rational it would have been, while the Manhattan Project was employing the nation's finest scientific brains to produce a revolutionary weapon, if we had simultaneously mobilized the finest political and military minds to design a suitable revolutionary strategy." We did not do so.

High walls of governmental secrecy have inhibited vigorous public discussion of nuclear weapons policy. Mr. Murray pleads for "more democratic control of the atom." Although an AEC member for seven years, he remains uncertain as to "who makes atomic energy policy in the United States or how it is made." In a horrifying example of secrecy he recalls how even National Security Council members were not allowed to receive certain facts about America's nuclear stockpile composition. The Atomic Energy Commission ruled they had no "need to know."

Military strategists will quaver at some of the difficulties in his proposal to return to a concept of "civilized [atomic] warfare," as well as at his distinction between force and violence. Philosophers also may be uneasy with his neat synonymy between morality and rationality. His arguments certainly will displease megaton bomb "realists," as well as pacifists and all those who would "ban the bomb." He offers, in essence, a sometimes puzzling "middle-of-the-road" nuclear weapons policy, arguing that his program embodies rationality, morality and utility. This may seem to some an improvement over existing policy, although he leaves several serious questions unanswered.

The book tends to redundancy in somewhat disunified *seriatim* essays. Perhaps its chief value to political scientists is the illumination given the atomic policy process. Students of politics and administration would be fortunate if more retired Federal Commissioners would produce books adding to the scarce material about government agencies operating in the shadow of official secrecy. Those concerned with the impact upon democratic processes of cold war and an accelerating, brake-less technology will want to examine this book carefully.—Harry Howe Ransom, *Harvard University.*

From Empire to Nation. By Rupert Emerson. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 466. $7.75.)

The spread of Western imperialism throughout most of the world is one of the most important phenomena of modern history. Its rapid decline since World War II and its collapse during the past few years is of the greatest historical importance. The first and middle phases of this movement have been the subject of many studies, but the book under review is one of the first to deal with the decolonization movement.

To examine the rise to self-assertion of the people of any one of the many former dependent territories is difficult, but to deal with this movement on two large continents is a hazardous undertaking indeed. Few people are better qualified to do it than Rupert Emerson, who for a long time has been one of our leading students of colonialism. He is not unaware of the hazards of so sweeping an undertaking. "I have thrown my scruples to the winds," he states in the Preface, "and joined in a search for uniformities on the grand scale." This procedure may not please the meticulous scholar but it makes for an interesting book.

Emerson asserts that the rise of nationalism among non-European peoples is "a consequence of the spread of Western European Civilization over the face of the Earth." Assuming that the penetration of Western culture into Asian and African societies profoundly influenced them in the direction of nationalism, he holds that there would have been a rise of nationalism without Western colonialism, and that this nationalism would have been very different. Unfortunately, since few Asian and African states escaped Western colonial administration, and since all were subjected to Western imperialist pressures of lesser or greater intensity, the proposition seems somewhat moot.

Emerson examines nationalism in non-colonial countries but specifically in connection with democracy. It is frequently asserted that the nationalist movements were caused by the evils and shortcomings of colonialism. If this were true it would be difficult to explain why the nationalist movements arose earlier and developed more rapidly in the more liberally governed dependencies. Portuguese colonial administration has not been characterized by liberality, yet Portugal has not had to cope with nationalist movements of any kind in its dependencies. Emerson seems to ascribe the rise of nationalism to the refusal of non-white peoples any longer "to accept the position of inferiority which lay at the heart of the imperialist system," but he recognizes the basic fact that imperialism brought about its own end by bringing to the dependencies the same dynamic forces which produced nationalism in the West. Emerson has some kind words for Western imperialism. He is more charitable in his judgment of colonialism in this volume than he was in his *Malaysia*, published nearly a quarter of a century ago.

Much has been written on the nation, chiefly with respect to Europe and the English speaking countries. Here, with respect to the new nations, is an opportunity to examine the concept afresh, in a different setting and while the process of nation-forming is still going on. In successive chapters Emerson examines "The Nature of the Nation," "People, Territory, and State," "Language," "Culture and Religion," "Economics," and "The West and Non-Western Nationalism." No one interested in the study of the nation and nationalism can afford to pass this book by.

Emerson is not optimistic about the future of democratic governments in the new states. He notes the evasion of democracy which has taken place in nearly all of them. He doubts whether the very difficult problems which confront them can be solved by democratic political institutions. "Democracy implies far-reaching freedoms, and an opposition; but the prime requirement is not for more freedoms but for discipline and hard work, not for opposition but for a consolidation of all forces and talents." Emerson examines the attraction of Communism for these peoples. While admitting the reality of the Communist threat he is not alarmed, apparently believing that the forces of nationalism, democracy, religion and traditionalism will hold against Communist advance.

In a final chapter Emerson discusses the "New Nations and the International Community." He foresees that the role of the new nations will be chiefly as producers of trouble and "as consumers of international aid and guidance." Strangely, he does not suggest a role for the United Nations in case some of their governments collapse. Since the United Nations aided the colonial territories to become independent, does it not also have an obligation to take over the administration of these states temporarily and help them take over again as soon as possible? However, the new political structure produced by the admission of the new states, in combination with the Communist bloc, may so enfeeble the United Nations that it will be unable to do even so sensible a thing.

It would be easy to say that this study is premature, that it should not have been undertaken until a large number of detailed studies for each of the new nations had been made. The reviewer is pleased that Professor Emerson did not wait for these studies. He has made a valuable contribution to the literature of this field of study.—AMRY VANDENBOSCH, *University of Kentucky*.

America the Vincible. BY EMMET JOHN HUGHES. (New York: Doubleday & Company. 1959. Pp. 306. $3.95.)

The Military and Industrial Revolution of Our Time. BY FRITZ STERNBERG. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1959. Pp. xiv, 359. $5.75.)

The authors, despite their agreement that this is a revolutionary age (Mr. Hughes calls his first chapter "The Revolution of the Times"), have very different purposes in mind. Mr. Sternberg is concerned about the "humanisation of labour" in the new age of industrial plenty that he foresees. Mr. Hughes offers "a searching critique, a bold appraisal, an eloquent plea—for an American world role of wisdom, purpose, and strength." Mr. Stenberg's point of view is fundamentally economic, Mr. Hughes's political with heavy moral overtones.

Mr. Sternberg, facing the consequences of the new military technology, leans strongly to the belief that their net effect is a radical modification of the old patterns of international power, even o the point of throwing open to doubt the very urvival of the political order as we know it. This he can face calmly; to him the major relevance of nuclear energy is not in military terms at all, but ather to what he calls "the second industrial evolution." He devotes only a scant one-third of his pages to discussing military matters, and he rest to detailed charting of the trend toward new centers of industrial power. Through the apid and drastic changes he predicts, he urges us to keep our eyes on what to him is the only ocially justifiable consequence of the wider dispersion of industrial capacity: the humanization of abor.

His argument can be crammed into a few entences. Science and technology have triggered a new military and industrial age. The dominant characteristic of the new era is equality; the old military and industrial hierarchy is passing. The world is on the threshold of major readjustments n its economic structure, with immediate political and social consequences that need to be prepared for.

America the Vincible was welcomed in many sectors of the American liberal community, for its author is not only high in the councils of the Luce empire, but has also served as a speechwriter for President Eisenhower. Since the book is sharply critical of American foreign policy and the American people, it has already and will continue to provide ammunition for Democratic orators. It would do the book little justice to dismiss it as merely another "wake up, America!" tract for the times. Mr. Hughes feels deeply about the failure of America to cut a better figure n world affairs, and he makes a number of telling points. Very little of what he says is new, and many people have already said it at least as well, but his thesis bears infinite repetition: the negative, unyielding, wooden American response to a host of challenges simply will not do any longer. America, he argues, is actually "vincible" as long as it fails to live up to its own promise. Although Mr. Hughes falls into verbal traps to some extent, he avoids the worst errors of many of his fellow critics. His way out is a practical one: simply to stop denying the clear meaning of contemporary events and to call upon the same set of resources that built the society of which we are the heirs. He deserves credit for not attributing all our troubles to "complacency"—that favorite whipping boy. We are, he says, not at all complacent; instead, we are systematically self-deceived. He is pitiless in exposing the illusions—Republican "liberation" and Democratic "negotiation from strength" alike—that prevent Americans from seeing the plain necessities of the situation. Equally praiseworthy in his insistence upon the supremacy of "politics" and the inescapable burden of risk in any policy that stands any chance of success.

But all of the book's virtues, at least to this reviewer, are drastically minimized by the pain attendant on reading it. Perhaps as a reaction against the stylistic straitjacket in which he works at *Time-Life*, Mr. Hughes lets himself go here in an orgy of purple and pretentious prose. The simplest thought is hidden in a cloud of fuzzy rhetoric; great notions become petty when the reader is forced to wade through mountains of verbal whipped cream before reaching them. Perhaps inevitably, time has caught the book. Written in the summer of 1959, many of his dire predictions seem ridiculous today, and many of his impossibilities have become facts. The world is moving too rapidly even for today's high-speed presses; we can extract some comfort from the fact that Americans seem to be moving a little in the direction Mr. Hughes advocates. Perhaps the best one can wish for the book is that it will speedily become obsolete as the United States begins to meet its challenges in good faith and high confidence.—CHARLES O. LERCHE, JR., *The American University.*

Political Realism and the Crises of World Politics. BY KENNETH W. THOMPSON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. 268. $5.00.)

This little volume is a welcome addition to the scholarly yet readable literature—an altogether sadly limited category—in the field of international affairs. A welcome relief too from the flood of popularly written "hot spot" analysis. Mr. Thompson takes the reader through an examination of basic philosophies and issues in world politics, and their relation to one another.

The "political realism" here considered has strong overtones of the older theme of power politics but Mr. Thompson does an admirable job of developing his theme and variations. Applying his concepts of realism he considers the problems of morality in international affairs, isolationism, and collective security. From this he moves to what he identifies as the four dilemmas of American policy: (1) "marshalling domestic support for our programs . . . while putting our best foot forward in the eyes of the rest of the world; (2) colonialism; (3) the question of "right and wrong"; and (4) the "special relationship of diplomacy and democracy."

Our colleagues in history will cheer the insistence that to contend effectively with the present, one must be well grounded in the past. Even so he cautions the problem of interpretation. Many a teacher of the introductory course in international relations will thank the author for synthesizing many of the things the teacher has long been saying. For the student—especially those early in their studies—this little volume will help establish a perspective. For the layman, it may well go far in jolting his smugness about foreign affairs and move him a bit toward the realization that things are not necessarily all white or all black.

But all will not be "joy in Mudville." There will be those who will take issue on the personalities whose works have been chosen as vital contributions to the new realism and who set the tone of the book (Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans J. Morgenthau, the late Nicholas Spykman, Paul H. Nitze, George F. Kennan, Louis Halle, C. B. Marshall, Walter Lippmann and James Reston). Strongly conservative elements will dislike the work as will the idealists and the "simple solution" clan. Nevertheless, their thoughts may well be shaken and they will be forced to reevaluate their positions.

There is really nothing new here, but no claim is made for this and Mr. Thompson has done a sound evaluation of the elements of "realism" as he envisions them.—WM. T. UTLEY, *University of Omaha.*

Conflict and Cooperation Among Nations. EDITED BY IVO D. DUCHACEK with the collaboration of Kenneth W. Thompson. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960. Pp. xvi, 649. $6.50.)

This volume of readings and documents seems admirably suited to the requirements of most systematic courses in international politics, although it de-emphasizes the elements of geography and national resources in favor of ideology, institutional factors, and what might be called the "conflict-of-values approach" to foreign policy-making. It provides a sharp contrast to the conceptual and methodological emphasis in Hoffmann's collection; its perspective is more analytical and realistic than the Oxford Press' volumes; it is more theoretically oriented than the interesting series of short volumes on policy problems which recently appeared from the Howard Chandler publishing firm in San Francisco.

The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. Edited, with introductions and notes, by ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN. (New York: Random House. 1960. Pp. xviii, 457).

This judicious compilation of documents, with perceptive introductions, analyzes the story of Soviet foreign policy from the formative years, following 1917, up to the present. Once again, we have the picture of the amazing flexibility, theory in combination with practice, ruthlessness, and an *elan vital* borne of a sense of destiny, tha characterizes the Communist challenge to th West. The back-bone of the book is composed o Russian documents relating to the strategy an tactics of diplomacy under the banner of worl communism, whose mission is conceived as th defense and advance of the interests of the Sovie Union throughout the world. An extensiv bibliography is provided for each topic considere at the end of the volume, and each chapter concludes with profitable suggestions for furthe reading. Space limitations permit only the underscoring of the over-all excellence of the work which is carried forward with a fine writing style before mentioning certain gaps which do not detract from its fundamental quality.

The first chapter on "Ideological Bases" migh have profited by a document, with an explanator note, illustrating the Czarist PanSlavism, particularly since it is noted in the chapter that som people interpret present Soviet policy as "a mer continuation of traditional Czarist objectives.' No documents by Trotsky are included, and th importance of the Stalin-Trotsky conflict as i affected Soviet policy in China in the Twenties i neglected. Moreover, in his discussion of th roots of the Cold War, Professor Rubinstei omits any mention of the important article b Jacques Duclos in *Cahiers du Communisme*, i April 1945, the first outright statement heraldin the Communist return to a tough anti-capitalis line. Finally, in an otherwise excellent treatmen of the Soviet policy in the underdeveloped countries, Latin America gets no consideration. Ye communist relations with Castro taken togethe with stirrings throughout Latin America ar proof of the Soviet interest there. The strateg and tactics of Mao Tse-tung, including his version of the "National Front," which, as Prof Rubinstein notes, have replaced Stalinist tactic in the underdeveloped areas for many years, hav been found useful by Red leaders and sympathizers in Latin America. These gaps may o course be closed in future editions.—CARROL HAWKINS, *Michigan State University.*

Diplomatie Unserer Zeit. La Diplomatie Contemporaine. Contemporary Diplomacy. BY K. BRAUNIAS AND G. STOURZH. (eds.) (Graz: Austria. Verlag Styria. 1959. Pp. 330. DM 17.80).

This welcome volume presents to a wider audience the lectures given by some dozen outstanding diplomats, foreign ministry heads or top officials and professors of diplomatic history at the 1958 session of the International Seminar for Diplomats at Klessheim, Austria. In a minor but promising way this annual conference follows in the footsteps of Vienna's famous *Konsularakad-*

mie—dissolved in 1939—which was famous for ts training courses for prospective diplomats. The various chapters deal with the work and characteristics of diplomats in general and those of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain and the United States in particuar; also, incidentally, with the perennial probems of selection, training and Foreign Office-Foreign Service organization.

The highly experienced authors offer a good deal of pertinent information more or less informally, though the author of the chapter on 'Pontifical Diplomacy," Mgr. Igino Cardinale of the Secretariat of State of the Holy See, does write pontifically as well as informatively. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in "The Woman in Diplomacy" points up some difficulties facing women ambassadors and attributes to her sex some special qualifications for diplomacy. Mistakenly, she refers to Perle Mesta as the first American woman ambassador. Her fellow countrymen know that she was merely "the mostest." The Swiss historian J. R. von Salis provides a worthwhile view of "Geschichte und Diplomatie." He is not correct, fortunately, when he states that most American chiefs of mission are party politicians. C. Grove Haines counteracts this and some other popular notions in a short but generally effective chapter on "The American Diplomat."

The list of other distinguished authors includes A. H. van Scherpenberg and Hans von Herwarth (Germany), J. W. Beyen (Netherlands), Pietro Quaroni (Italy), Christopher Mayhew (Great Britain), Wladimir d'Ormesson (France), Pedro Rodríguez-Ponga (Spain), Joseph Schoener, Leopold Figl, Franz Gschnitzer and Bruno Kreisky (Austria) and A. C. Breycha-Vauthier (United Nations, Geneva). Ambassador Beyen's chapter on "Diplomacy by Conference" is of special interest because of his defense of it, in disagreement with Sir Harold Nicolson and others.

The book is very useful for students of diplomacy and international affairs. A good half of the chapters are written in German or French, the rest in English.—JOHN BROWN MASON, *Orange County State College.*

Treaties and Executive Agreements. BY ELBERT M. BYRD, JR. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. Pp. x, 276. $5.60.)

American diplomatic relations with foreign nations today are so profuse and complicated that the student of government often needs an up-to-date, authoritative and complete study on treaties and executive agreements. Over two decades have passed since the publication of McClure's important contribution in this field, and the changes in diplomatic relations of the last twenty years have provided ample material for a study on this subject.

Though of considerable interest to the student of constitutional development, the present book does not fill the expectations raised by its title. Relying mainly on historical sources, and on relevant court decisions, Mr. Byrd has attempted to examine the limitations on the treaty making power. He comes to the conclusion that they are mainly political, and that the treaty power will never be used to its maximum legal extent. The other principal conclusions of this short but closely argued book are that " . . . the treaty making agency is a separate branch of the federal government; the Senators in their approving role act simultaneously in a state and a national capacity; the legislative powers of Congress are adequate to the approval of many types of international agreements; unlike the treaty power, the legislative power of Congress is restricted by the Tenth Amendment, and therefore the treaty power must be used to effectuate an international agreement when the legislative power as contemporarily construed is not sufficiently extensive; when a legitimate choice between the two powers exists, the legislative power should be preferred for both political and theoretical reasons; both powers are limited by the specific prohibitions in the Constitution."

These conclusions tell us virtually nothing about the use of the treaty making power or the executive agreement in the era of "total diplomacy."—DAVID A. BOOTH.

La Conduite des Affaires Etrangères en France. BY FRANÇOIS LE ROY (Paris: Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1959. Pp. 44. 3 NF.)

Since scanty research has been done on the process of foreign policy formulation in France, the collection of documents by Professor Le Roy arouses hope that a gap has been filled. Alas, the title of this slight work is entirely misleading. The editor has compiled excerpts of constitutional texts, decrees and a few court decisions which bear upon the legal competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other organs of government, and ambassadors. No attention is paid to political factors. The documents are doubtless of some interest to students of international law.

Middle East in Crisis. BY CAROL A. FISHER AND FRED KRINSKY. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1959, Pp. xii+213. $5.00).

This book is intended to provide background materials, demographic and historical, for students in the undergraduate level in order to guide them to formulate their "own view of United States policy in this (Middle East) troubled area." The first part (pp. 1–69) is a descriptive essay on the countries of the Middle East, the rise of nationalism, and a short treatment of pending issues in the area such as the Soviet challenge to the position of Western Powers, the problems of oil, Israel and the Suez Canal. The second part, by far the larger (pp. 73–203), consists of some 48 documents relating to contemporary problems. While there is nothing new in this work, whether in interpretation or in the material, it may well serve a useful purpose as a handbook for students in undergraduate colleges who desire a brief background on the Middle East.

Roosevelt's Road to Russia. BY GEORGE N. CROKER. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1959, Pp. xvii, 312, index. $5.00.)

Oscar Wilde had a point, says the author, when he wrote: "A man who sees both sides of a question is a man who sees absolutely nothing at all." Like a diligent prosecuting attorney Mr. Crocker marshals all available evidence which tends to convict President Roosevelt before the bar of history and ignores or distorts evidence to the contrary. He acknowledges that Roosevelt's "hero-worshipers" and "dupes," the "demagogue" and the "sentimentalist," as well as th scholars who try to "see both sides" will call hi study "one-sided," "biased" or "extreme." Genuine history, he says, is never written by "thos genial purveyors of the pleasantly orthodox . . with one eye on the currently fashionable source and the other on the book of etiquette." N reader of this book will accuse the author o fraternization with "fashionable sources" such a the William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleaso studies published by the Council on Foreign Relations or of excessive etiquette with those fact which did not fit in with his picture of an incompetent, deceitful and treasonable villain.—ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *The American University*

China, Japan and the Powers. BY M. E. CAMERON T. H. D. MAHONEY, AND G. E. MCREYNOLDS (New York: Ronald Press, 1960. Pp. xiii, 714 $8.00.)

The second edition of this scholarly text ha been modified from the first (1952) primarily b the addition of three terminal chapters, coverin the Korean War and its aftermath, the Far Eas in world politics from 1955 to the present, an the first decade of Communist rule in China.

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WILLIAM H. ROBERTS

Catholic University of America

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IN UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA[*]

COMPILED BY WILLIAM C. SEYLER

Deputy Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

I. DISSERTATIONS IN PREPARATION

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[*] Similar lists have been printed in the REVIEW annually since 1921, except for 1915–19, 1921 and 1923–24; full citations are given in the 1955 list, XLIX, 792.

Items which appeared in the September, 1959, list and which are still in preparation *without change* are *not* repeated in this listing. The present listing contains only additions, changes and deletions. Additions are those items which were reported in preparation for the first time; changes are those items which have had a change in name, title, or classification; and deletions are those items which are no longer in preparation.

This year, for the first time, this compilation includes listings for the Canadian universities offering doctoral degrees in political science; and, to enhance the coverage and usefulness of the extension, the Canadian listings have been carried back to 1951.

The classifications this year have been changed as follows: the category of "Political Philosophy and Psychology" has been modified to "Political Philosophy, Theory and Methodology"; the category of "Canadian Government and Politics" has been inserted to follow "American State and Local Government and Politics"; and the category of "Public Administration in the United States" has been broadened to "Public Administration."

The lists printed in the REVIEW are based on information from departments giving graduate instruction in political science; to avoid misunderstandings, entries are not accepted from individual candidates for degrees. The subject matter classification of an entry by the department concerned, if given, is followed. Each entry is listed under one classification only.

Often dissertations are in progress in departments of economics, history, sociology, etc., which overlap or supplement dissertations in preparation in political science. Attention is called especially to the following lists: "Current Research Projects in Public Administration" (reported to Public Administration Service), the most recent edition of which appeared in 1951; "Doctoral Dissertations in Political Economy in Progress in American Colleges and Universities," in the September issue, the *American Economic Review;* "List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress," published annually by the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution through 1938, and since then by the American Historical Association, as supplements to the *American Historical Review* (1940 and 1941), as Vol. III of its Annual Report (1941), and as separate publications (1952, 1955, 1958); and "Doctoral Dissertations in Sociology," in the July issue of the *American Journal of Sociology.* Consult also the "External Research List," published by the Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, in April and October of each year. These are in addition to the "List of American Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1938," the most recent of an annual series published by the Library of Congress; and Arnold H. Trotier and Marian Harman, "Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1954–55," the twenty-second of a series beginning in 1933–34, compiled for the Association of Research Libraries and merged into *Dissertation Abstracts.* Consult, for other lists, T. R. Palfrey and H. E. Coleman, Jr., "Guide to Bibliographies of Theses, United States and Canada" (Chicago, American Library Association, 2nd ed., 1940).

Abstracts of some of the theses listed as completed may be found in "Dissertation Abstracts," published bi-monthly by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

For a chart which classifies, by subject category, the numbers of dissertations completed and in progress, 1951 through 1957, see this REVIEW, LII, p. 916.

Panslavism: A Study in Political Ideology. *Indiana.*

Stefan C. Maczynski, The Communist Concept of Industralization and Levels of Living. *Notre Dame.*

Robert C. Noel, Theory and Procedure for the Simulation of International Relations. *Northwestern.*

James D. Phillips, Language Analysis of Political Theory. *Cornell.*

Robert J. Pranger, The Problem of Citizenship in the Action Theories of Modern Social Science and Existentialism. *California* (Berkeley).

Knud Rasmussen, The Political Philosophy of Søren Kierkegaard. *Rutgers.*

Sister John Francis Ryan, The Political Theory of Pius XII. *Notre Dame.*

Gordon J. Schochet, The Political Thought of Carl Becker, *Minnesota.*

Fred H. Willhoite, Jr., The Consent of the Governed: An Analysis of Some Representative Theories. *Duke.*

James P. Young, The Role of Theology, History and the Philosophy of History in Contemporary American Political Thought: A Study in Liberal Self-Criticism. *Michigan.*

Changes

William C. Baum, The Politics of Fright: The Radical Right in the United States. *Iowa.*

Stanislaus Belch, The Theory of International Relations in Paulus Vladimiri. *Notre Dame.*

Daniel R. Cloutier, The Political Philosophy of Sir Ernest Barker. *Alabama.*

Robert Goldwin, Property, Money and Justice: A Study of John Locke's Political Teachings. *Chicago.*

Myron J. Lunine, India's Ideological Commitments as Revealed in Reactions to Certain Events Abroad: The Breakdown of Democracy in Asia, the Pasternak Case, and the Trouble in Tibet. *Iowa.*

Rev. John J. Mahoney, O.P., The Political Theory of Domingo de Soro, O.P., 1495–1560. *Georgetown.*

Rev. Thomas Nedumgottil, The Theory of Revolution in Manabendra Nath Roy. *Notre Dame.*

Eugene Pyziur, Constitutional Thought in Pre-Revolutionary Russia. *Notre Dame.*

Sister M. Christopher Querin, F.C.S.P., The Political Theory of James Wilson. *St. Louis.*

Wilfrid E. Rumble, Jr., The Foundations of American Legal Realism. *Johns Hopkins.*

Marvin Zetterbaum, The Political Philosophy of Alexis de Tocqueville, *Chicago.*

Deletions

Nadim Bittar, The Political Philosophy of Charles Maurras. *Michigan.*

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Additions

Fred Abrahams, The Structure and Function of Partisanship in Decision-Making within a Metropolitan Community. *Oregon.*

Rufus P. Browning, Motives Underlying Businessmen's Participation in Local Political Decision-Making. *Yale.*

Harry Clor, A Critique of Contemporary Theories of the Presidency. *Chicago.*

Billy G. Crane, Intergovernmental Relations in Disaster Relief in Texas. *Texas.*

John A. Crittenden, Impact of Aging on Political Orientations. *North Carolina.*

B. Vincent Davis, Strategy of the United States Navy, 1944–1959. *Princeton.*

Martha A. Derthick, Politics of the National Guard. *Harvard* (Radcliffe).

JeDon Emenhiser, The Political Significance of Some Internal Armed Conflicts in the United States. *Minnesota.*

Richard M. Fink, Democratic Party Realignments in the 1890's: Connecticut, Michigan and Ohio. *Harvard.*

William H. Flanigan, Cross Pressure and Individual Political Behavior. *Yale.*

Edward M. Glick, Propaganda Strategy and Tactics of the Party in Power during the 1958 Congressional Campaign. *Ohio State.*

Marshall Goldstein, Recruitment and Politics: The Induction of Law Students into Political Activity. *North Carolina.*

Glen Gordon, Congressional-Presidential Relationships in the 86th Congress: An Analysis of Program Formulation and Implementation. *Chicago.*

Klaus J. Hermann, Administrative Reorganization in Minnesota State Government, 1949–1959. *Minnesota.*

Edward A. Howe, Party Organization in Minnesota: An Investigation into the Correlates of County Committee Effectiveness, Responsibility, and Intraorganizational Democracy. *Minnesota.*

John J. Iselin, Government by Crisis, with Particular Attention to the Legislative Process in the Crisis Situation. *Harvard.*

Robert E. Kellogg, The Eisenhower Power Policy: A Study of the Public vs. Private Power Issue during the Eisenhower Administration 1953–1958. *American.*

Robert L. Keighton, Some Considerations on the Investigatory Power of Congress with Particular Reference to the Executive Branch and the Separation of Powers Principle. *Pennsylvania.*

Edward Kolodziej, The Influence of Congress on Military Policy Through the Determination of Force Levels and Weapon Systems, 1946 to the Present. *Chicago.*

Donald D. Kummerfeld, American Industry in the Political Process: Patterns of Individual and Collective Behavior. *Harvard.*

Robert G. Leh, Compulsory Arbitration of Civil Actions in the United States. *Pennsylvania.*

Erwin L. Levine, The Political Career of the Honorable Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island. *Brown.*

Herbert M. Levine, The Politics of Military Air Transportation: A Study of the U. S. Military Air Transport Service, 1948–1959. *Columbia.*

Sarah P. McCally, Competition and Party: The Effects of Competition upon the Structure and Function of the Party. *Yale.*

Sister Patrick Ellen Maher, I.H.M., The Truman Committee: A Case Study of Congressional Investigation. *St. Louis.*

William I. Matthews, The Law of Nominations in the United States: Its Objectives and Effects. *Columbia.*

David Olson, The Political Activities of Selected National Trade Associations. *California* (Berkeley).

Andrew E. Rice, The Influence of "Public Interest" Pressure Groups in Shaping U. S. Development Assistance Policy. *Syracuse.*

Leroy N. Rieselbach, American Isolationist Behavior. *Yale.*

James E. Sandmire, The Political and Social Dynamics of Voluntary Groups in Metropolitan Areas. *California* (Berkeley).

Robert F. Sasseen, Political Philosophy and Political Parties: An Analysis of the Current Debate on Responsible Party Government. *Chicago.*

Jack M. Schick, Politics, Planning and the Polaris: A Study of the National Security Policy Process. *Chicago.*

Robert L. Skinner, Principles, Policy and Pressure. A Study of the Americans for Democratic Action. *Johns Hopkins.*

Donald S. Smith, Federal Solutions to the Metropolitan Problem: A New Approach to Inter-Governmental Relations. *Pennsylvania.*

John G. Stewart, The Role of the Senate Majority Leader: A Study of Legislative Leadership. *Chicago.*

Frederick H. Stires, United States Administration in the Ryukyu Islands 1945–1958: An Analysis of Policies and Practices of American Occupation. *Georgetown.*

Henry Teune, Organized Interests and the Legislative Process: A Systematic Analysis. *Indiana.*

Georgia Thomas, The Voting Behavior of American Women. *California* (Berkeley).

James Threlkeld, Congress and Strategic Air Power. *Columbia.*

Changes

Lee F. Anderson, Sectional Cleavage in the House of Representatives: The Place of the Midwest. *Illinois.*

Fred R. Brown, Governmental Financial Support for Health and Medical Services in the United States: A Methodological and Analytical Study. *Pennsylvania.*

Charles L. Clapp, The Congressman and His Environment. *California* (Berkeley).

Erwin A. Jaffee, The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952: A Study in Policy Making. *Rutgers.*

Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Nationalism, 1735–1775. *Yale.*

Lee D. Vichules, Political Activity of the Chinese and Japanese in America. *California* (Berkeley).

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

Additions

Milnor Alexander, The Right to Counsel for the Politically Unpopular. *Bryn Mawr.*

Robert Anderson, The Problems of Commissioner of Education's Jurisdiction as an Appellate Authority. *Syracuse.*

Norbert Brockman, S.M., The Politics of the American Bar Association. *Catholic.*

Maria J. Falco, Accusational versus Inquisitorial Methods of Judicial Procedure. *Bryn Mawr.*

Robert L. Keele, Jr., The Supreme Court, Totalitarianism and the National Security of Democratic America: 1941–1960. *Emory.*

Walter P. Kremm, The Supreme Court and the Impact of Justice Holmes: An Appraisal of the Court on Constitutionality. *North Carolina.*

C. Peter Magrath, The Supreme Court under Morrison R. Waite. *Cornell.*

John A. Morgan, Jr., The Concept of Congressional Intent in the Decisions of the Warren Court. *Duke.*

Robert E. Newton, The Concept of Judicial Self-Restraint in the Opinions of Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter of the Supreme Court of the United States. *Catholic.*

Luther W. Odom, Mr. Justice Holmes' Search for Objectivity. *Texas.*

Sr. Mary Jean Pew, I.H.M., The Judicial Standards of Justice Robert H. Jackson in the Interpretation of the Religious Clauses of the First Amendment. *Fordham.*

Paul Puryear, The Implementation of the Desegregation Decision in the Federal Courts of Virgina: A Case Study of Legal Resistance to Federal Authority. *Chicago.*

Thomas L. Reilly, Politics of Judicial Selection in Chicago. *Chicago.*

Martin M. Shapiro, Constitutional Concept of Morality. *Harvard.*

Jay S. Sigler, Double Jeopardy: The Development of a Legal and Social Policy. *Rutgers.*

Otis H. Stephens, The Criminal Defendant and His Preliminary Procedural Rights. *Johns Hopkins.*

Carl Vann, Psychiatric Evidence and the Onondaga County Criminal Courts. *Syracuse.*

Wayne F. Young, The Supreme Court Since 1953. *Oklahoma.*

Changes

Warren C. White, The Role of Federal Examiners in the Administrative Process. *Maryland.*

Deletions

Eugene S. Powell, Limits on the King's Prerogative: The Colonial Background to Substantive Due Process of Law. *California* (Berkeley).

Sami Saliba, Watkins v. United States—An Analysis and Critique. *Kansas.*

Robert S. Walker, The Right and Writ of Personal Liberty. *California* (Berkeley).

AMERICAN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Additions

Alan Altshuler, Urban Planning and Administrative Discretion. *Chicago.*

Samuel B. Bloom, Public Housing and Politics in Richmond, California. *California* (Berkeley).

Arnold J. Bornfriend, Business Leadership in a Metropolis: The Commerce and Industry Association of New York. *Columbia.*

Dwight M. Carpenter, Wichita, Kansas, Metropolitan Area: Some Aspects of Metropolitan Government. *Illinois.*

Robert Clarke, The Problem of Municipal Annexation with Special Reference to Grand Rapids. *Notre Dame.*

Richard J. Connors, After the Boss Departed (Patterns in Jersey City Politics Following the Resignation of Frank Hague as Mayor). *Columbia.*

Rowland E. Dietz, Amateurs in Politics: The Story of the Cincinnati Reform Movement, 1925–1959. *Columbia.*

James C. Dixon, Licensing in Metropolitan Atlanta. *Emory.*

Fred Gantt, The Office of the Governor of Texas. *Texas.*

Howard B. Gundy, Grants-in-Aid for Public Assistance in New York State Federal Relations. *Syracuse.*

W. Joseph Harkins, The Office of the Secretary in Georgia. *Emory.*

Barbara Howard, Urban Redevelopment in Indiana. *Indiana.*

Kent Jennings, Community Leadership Roles. *North Carolina.*

Tobe Johnson, The Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor: A Case Study of a Bi-State Regulatory Agency. *Columbia.*

Melvin Kahn, Labor in the Lawmaking Process: Indiana. *Indiana.*

Harold Kaplan, The Politics of Urban Renewal in Newark, New Jersey. *Columbia.*

Donald J. McWherter, The Springfield, Missouri, Charter: Its Genesis and Development. *Missouri.*

John T. Manns, Metropolitan Reorganization during the 1950's: A Comparative Study. *St. Louis.*

Marvin Maurer, The Port Authority of New York: A Study of Its Organizational Behavior within the Setting of the New York Metropolitan Area. *Columbia.*

Henry J. Pratt, The Protestant Council of New York as a Political Interest Group. *Columbia.*

James W. Robbins, The Unicameral Movement in Missouri. *Missouri.*

William M. Rogers, The Capital Budgeting Process in State Government with Special Reference to Pennsylvania. *Pennsylvania.*

Ernest F. Ross, State Supervision of Local Governments in Michigan. *Michigan.*

Bradbury Seasholes, Negro Political Participation in Two North Carolina Cities. *North Carolina.*

Morris Silverman, A History of Legislative Representation in New York State. *Yeshiva.*

Clarence N. Stone, Political Leadership in Selected Council-Manager Cities. *Duke.*

Hugh M. Thomason, The Legislative Process in Georgia. *Emory.*

Tandy Tollerson, III, Absentee Voting in Missouri. *Missouri.*

Marvin G. Weinbaum, Minority Leadership in a Modified One-Party Setting: The Republican Party of New York County. *Columbia.*

Paul Zehner, Religious Influences in the Politics of Metropolitan Chicago. *Northwestern.*

Changes

Alexander Cloner, A Study of the Factors Influencing Legislative Compensation in California. *Southern California.*

Harold Gorvine, Massachusetts Politics During the First New Deal, November 1932–November 1936. *Harvard.*

Elmer R. Rusco, Machine Politics, California

Model: Arthur H. Samish and the Alcoholic Beverage Industry. *California* (Berkeley).

Deletions

James G. Kehew, Legislative Apportionment in Pennsylvania, 1874–1959. *Pittsburgh.*

William H. Leavel, The Development of the Direct Primary in Four Western States with Special Note of the Role of the Western Progressive. *Washington* (Seattle).

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Additions

Stanislav Andracki, Immigration of Orientals in Canada. *McGill.*

Marie Hamel, L'Aide catégoriale et la Sécurite sociale au Canada. *Ottawa.*

Charles Schuetz, The Canadian Party-System. *Ottawa.*

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Additions

Lemuel F. Blitz, Urban Renewal: Its Impact on Municipal Administration. *North Carolina.*

H. Bruce Carroll, Intergovernmental Administrative Regulation. *Chicago.*

Donald F. Cate, The Recreation Policy of the U. S. Forest Service: Professional Orientation, Administrative Orientation and Interest Group Pressures as Determinants of Recreational-Use Policy. *Stanford.*

James J. Finley, The Postage Stamp Program of the United States Government: Administrative Aspects. *American.*

William R. Hamilton, Policy Formation in Ad Hoc Presidential Commissions. *Maryland.*

James J. Heaphey, Theoretical Aspects of CPAC and ICP Case Studies. *California* (Berkeley).

Joseph J. Hungate, Behavioral Approaches to the Study of Public Administration. *Texas.*

Todd R. La Porte, Role Systems and Executive Decision Making Behavior: A Comparative Study. *Stanford.*

Kent M. Lloyd, The Role of FEPC Administrator as Public Policy Decision-Maker: A Comparative Study of State Anti-Discrimination Commissions. *Stanford.*

Fremont Lyden, Functional Sociology and the Study of Public Administration. *Washington*, (Seattle).

O. Ruth McQuown, Administrative Adaptations by Tennessee Valley Authority since World War II to Changing Social, Economic, and Political Environment. *Florida.*

Judith Moss, The Non-Monetary Aspect of an Electronic Data Processing Program in Government Administration. *Pennsylvania.*

Morris Nimovitz, The Politics of Planning. *California* (Los Angeles).

Saleem M. M. Qureshi, Incentive System in American Public Employment. *Pennsylvania.*

Walter R. Rooney, Consultative Management as Embodied in the USAF Electronic Systems Research and Development Programs. *American.*

Cyril B. Roseman, The Staff Idea Revisited: An Essay in the History of American Administrative Thought. *Princeton.*

Giacomo Sani, Control Processes in Large Organizations: A Study in Administrative Theory. *California* (Berkeley).

Allan Spitz, Development Administration: A Comparative View. *Michigan State.*

Changes

A. Warren Meixner, The Public Authority as a Governmental Technique in New Jersey. *New York University.*

Ben Posner, Major Budgetary and Programming Problems of the United States Information Agency in its Operation of Overseas Missions. *American.*

John T. Thompson, Public Administration of Water Resources In Texas. *Texas.*

Deletions

William Larsen, The Field Service of the United States Bureau of the Budget. *California* (Berkeley).

FOREIGN AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Additions

Getachen Abdi, The Representative Function of the Political Party—Ghana as an Example. *Syracuse.*

Nancy Ruth Adams, The League of Arab States. *McGill.*

James Barros, The Corfu Incident of 1923. *Columbia.*

David H. Bayley, Problems of Law and Order in India. *Princeton.*

Peter V. Bishop, Australia's Search for Security: The Road from London to Washington. *Toronto.*

Robert L. Bradford, Southwest Africa: A Class 'C' Mandate Under the League of Nations. *Yale.*

H. Carl Camp, Caudillismo: The Dynamics of Power. *Washington* (St. Louis).

Luciano Cappeletti, Interest Groups and Bureaucracy in Italy. *California* (Berkeley).

Roger Carasso, Ideological Implications of the French Rejection of the European Defense Community. *Princeton.*

Douglas A. Chalmers, The SPD as Movement or

Political Cadre: A Study of the Attitudes and Structure of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. *Yale.*

Chawan Chawanidchaya, Thai Irredentism and French Indochina: A Study of a Controversial Aspect of Thai Nationalism. *Yale.*

Claude D. Davis, The Development of Self-Government in the British Colonies since 1947. *Texas.*

Charles Dibble, The Struggle for the Allegiance of the Chinese Community in Thailand. *Syracuse.*

Victor DuBois, The Independence Movement in Guinea: A Study in African Nationalism. *Princeton.*

William Dyess, The East German Communist Party. *Syracuse.*

Charles J. F. W. Elliott, The Right Opposition: Theory and Practice. *Harvard.*

Fariborg Fatimi, Constitutionalism and Nationalism in Iran. *Syracuse.*

Herbert Feith, Indonesian Politics 1949–1957. The Decline of Representative Government. *Cornell.*

William H. Foltz, The Mali Federation: A Study of Pan-Africanism in West Africa. *Yale.*

Wolf D. Fuhrig, State and University in the Federal Republic of Germany. *Columbia.*

Jack B. Gabbert, The Evolution of the Mexican Presidency. *Texas.*

Albert Gastmann, The Constitutional Position and Political Role of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles under the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands of 1954. *Columbia.*

Gantcho G. Gavriloff, The British Prime Minister as a Parliamentary Leader, 1932 to the Present. *Missouri.*

Dagmar Gunther-Stirn, East German Rearmament: 1945–1956. *Columbia.*

Admad Haffar, the Role of France in the Establishment of Greater Lebanon: 1916–1922. *Princeton.*

Hussein Hamdan, The Meaning and Implications of Nasserism. *Princeton.*

Helmut Handzik, Germany and the Upper Silesian Problem, 1918–21. *Yale.*

Robert W. Herrick, The Soviet Navy, 1921–1941. *Columbia.*

Grey Hodnett, Rabkrin and the Problems of the New Soviet Bureaucracy. *Columbia.*

Stephen Hosmer, The 1955 Indonesian General Elections in Java. *Yale.*

Asad Husain, India's Relations with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim from 1947 to the Present Day. *Minnesota.*

John Iannuzzi, Development of the Social Infrastructure in an Under-developed Country: Iraq, 1927–1958. *Catholic.*

Chalmers Johnson, Peasant Nationalism: Basis for Chinese Communist Military Power. *California* (Berkeley).

Wilbur Jones, The Conflict of Cultures: A Comparative Study of Tribalism in Nigeria. *Fletcher School.*

Robert N. Kearney, Recent Developments of Nationalism in Ceylon. *California* (Los Angeles).

Harvey G. Kebschull, Britain and the Suez Crisis. *Illinois.*

Andrzej Korbonski, Politics of Socialist Agriculture: Poland and East Germany 1945–1960. *Columbia.*

Joseph Kun, The National Minority Peoples of North China. *Harvard.*

Charles H. Kunsman, Jr., The Democratic Foundations of the West Indian Federation: The Formation of Political Parties and the Development of Representative, Responsible, Self-Governing, Institutions in the British Caribbean. *California* (Berkeley).

Yasumasa Kuroda, Law and Politics: A Cross-Cultural Study of Political Socialization of Law Students. *Oregon.*

John P. LeDonne, From Gubernyia to Oblast: A Study of Russian Territorial-Administrative Reorganization. *Columbia.*

Chong-Sik Lee, Korean Nationalist Movement, 1905–1945. *California* (Berkeley).

Jooin Lee, Development of the Constitution of Korea. *Illinois.*

Sang un Lin, Electoral Behavior in Korea. *Syracuse.*

Noah Lucatz, Histadrut: The Israeli Labor Movement in a Changing Society. *Washington* (St. Louis).

H. Malik, Pakistani Nationalism. *Syracuse.*

Clement H. Moore, Tunisian Politics: Model of Single Party Democracy. *Harvard.*

Henry W. Mott, The Background of British Cabinet Members, 1924–1959. *Columbia.*

George E. Perry, The Theory of People's Democracy (1945–1959), with Special Emphasis on Eastern Europe. *Columbia.*

Jurji Popiw, Three Basic Elements in Soviet Religious Policy. *Notre Dame.*

Klaus Pringsheim, The New Democratic Youth League of China (1948–1957). *Columbia.*

Asad Rahhal, A Comparative Study of Governmental Liability in France and the United States. *Syracuse.*

K. H. C. Raju, Union-State Relations in India with Particular Reference to Planning. *Syracuse.*

Suresht K. Renjen, The Political Novel in India in the Inter-war Period (1919–1939) in Hindi, Punjabi, English and Bengali. *Harvard* (Radcliffe).

Phyllis J. Rolnick, Political Thought of Indian Socialists. *Cornell.*

John Rue, The Uses of Nationalist Ideology in the Politics of the Chinese Communist Regime. *Minnesota.*

George L. Rueckert, Political Party Cohesion and Party Discipline in the Second German Bundestag. *Wisconsin.*

Leonas Sabaliunas, Lithuania, 1930–1940: A Society in Crisis. *Columbia.*

A. J. Sampson, Forging Democracy in Malaya. *George Washington.*

John C. Satra, The European Coal and Steel Community, 1950–1959: Aspects of Administration and Politics. *Florida.*

John Shenis, Contemporary Provincial and Local Administration in Cyprus in Comparative and Historical Perspective. *New York University.*

Stephen K. Shimazu, Methods of Communist Penetration into Japanese Labor Unions. *Notre Dame.*

Lawrence L. Shrader, Anti-Colonialism in the Foreign Policies of India and Pakistan. *California* (Berkeley).

Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr., West German Socialist Foreign Policy: A Critical Appraisal. *George Washington.*

Elizabeth Stabler, The Comités d'enterprise and Industrial Democracy in Post-war France. *Columbia.*

Leland G. Stauber, The Soviet Union and Indian Heavy Industry. *Harvard.*

Henry J. Steck, The British Labour Party in Opposition, 1951–1959. *Cornell.*

Robert W. Stern, The 1959 Crisis in Sino-Indian Relations and its Effect on the Left Opposition In India. *Wisconsin.*

William E. Steslicke, Japanese Interest Group Politics: A Case Study of the Nikkyoso (Japanese Teachers Union). *Michigan.*

Ernest Stock, Israel on the Road to Sinai: A Small State in a Test of Power. *Columbia.*

David J. Thomas, Contemporary Swedish Socialist Thought and Practice. *Harvard.*

Walter Weiker, The Birth of Opposition Parties in the Turkish Republic. *Princeton.*

Robert G. Wesson, The Soviet Agricultural Commune. *Columbia.*

Dwight H. Wilson, Aspects of the National Budget of Japan. *Michigan.*

Manfred Wolfson, The SS Leadership. *California* (Berkeley).

George T. Yu, Party Movement in Republican China: The Kuomintang 1912–1924. *California* (Berkeley).

Labib Zuwiyya-Yamak, The Cult of Society: An Interpretive Study of the Ideological Foundations of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. *Michigan.*

Changes

E. Ramon Arango, The Belgian Royal Question, 1940–1950. *Florida.*

Kurt DeWitt, The Berlin Problem in German Politics. *George Washington.*

William A. Douglas, The Role of the German Communist Party in the Soviet Campaign against West German Rearmament, 1949–53. *Princeton.*

Larry D. Johnston, A Study of Judicial Review in Australia. *California* (Berkeley).

Gordon Means, The Evolution of Self-Government in Malaya. *Washington* (Seattle).

Edwin B. Morrell, Political and Legal Study of the Soviet Trade Unions. *Harvard.*

Charles R. Naef, The Bundestag of the German Federal Republic: A Study of the Institution and Its Role in the Political Life of Postwar Germany. *Rutgers.*

Belden H. Paulson, A Political Analysis of a Sardinian Village. *Chicago.*

Richard H. Pfaff, Political Factors Influencing the Economic Development of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. *California* (Berkeley).

Richard P. Taylor, The British Foreign Service: A Study of the Eden Reforms, 1943–1958. *Fletcher School.*

Deletions

Ivan M. Ponedel, The Development of English Labor Law: The Legal Position of the Laborer from 1349 to the Present. *California* (Berkeley).

Melvin Wachs, Public Administration and Government in Thailand. *Cornell.*

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, POLITICS AND LAW

Additions

Fuad Said Abu-Zayyad, Economic Implications of Arab Unity. *Fletcher School.*

Abraham Ashkenasi, The Contemporary Foreign Policy of the German Social Democratic Party. *Columbia.*

Marjorie J. Baldwin, The Sterling Area and the European Payments Union, 1950–1953. *Fletcher School.*

B. Mohandas Baliga, The American Approach to Imperialism in Southeast Asia: A Study of the Attitudes of the U. S. Government in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Indo-China, 1945–1958. *Southern Illinois.*

Mohinder S. Bedi, United States Policy on Manifestations of Anti-Colonialism in the United Nations. *Southern California.*

Gary L. Best, Diplomacy in the United Nations. *Northwestern.*

Marguerite G. Bouvard, The Organization and

Position of Labor in "Little Europe." *Harvard* (Radcliffe).

James E. Boyce, The United States and the Integrity of China, 1898–1908. *Fletcher School.*

Harold E. Brazil, The National Economic Council of the Philippines: A Case Study of the Conflict of Economic and Political Pressures. *Ohio State.*

David Brook, The United Nations and Arab-Israeli Armistice System. *Columbia.*

Philip Brower, The Policies and Procedures of the U. S. Army in Seizing and Administering Enemy Records during World War II. *American.*

Jean E. Buckens, Land Tenure and Labor Conditions among Indigenous Peoples. *Fletcher School.*

Charles Bushong, Analysis of Great Britain's Attitudes toward European Economic Integration, 1946–59. *New York University.*

George A. Carroll, American Policy Concerning Control of Atomic Energy. *Fletcher School.*

David W. Chang, Comparative Study of Neutralism in India, Burma, and Indonesia. *Illinois.*

King Chen, Communist China and Viet-Minh, 1949–1958. *Pennsylvania State.*

Robert E. Cleary, The Strategy Involved in Franklin D. Roosevelt's Avoidance of the Treaty Format for Selected International Agreements, 1939–1945: A Case Study in the Conduct of American Foreign Policy. *Rutgers.*

Wendell J. Coats, Armed Forces as Power: The Theory of War Reconsidered. *Georgetown.*

Martin G. Cramer, TCA Program in India. *Fletcher School.*

William B. Dale, The Balance of Payments of the Principal Middle East Countries: Recent Developments and Prospects. *Fletcher School.*

Grant R. Davy, Canadian Policy on Disarmament: 1945–55. *Fletcher School.*

Francois M. Dickman, The Economic Foreign Policy of the United States in Western Europe from 1945 to 1948. *Fletcher School.*

Hasjim Djalal, The Limit of the Territorial Waters in International Law. *Virginia.*

Marvin L. Durham, The American Expansionist Movement in Mexico, 1848–1862. *Fletcher School.*

Mohamed El-Behairy, The Suez Canal in Post War World Politics. *Ohio State.*

John R. Faust, A Comparison of Various Foreign Policy Positions of Ten Selected States as Expressed in the United Nations General Assembly. *North Carolina.*

Otto Feinstein, The Role of Foreign Investment in the Economic and Political Development of Venezuela. *Chicago.*

Richard M. Fontera, Political Factors in the Creation of the Government of India Act of 1935. *New York University.*

John H. Funari, The Policy of the British Labor Governments Toward Political Integration in Western Europe, 1945–1951. *Pittsburgh.*

Shirley M. Gifford, United States' Relations with Morocco from 1778 to 1956. *Fletcher School.*

Minton F. Goldman, The Colonial Conflicts Resolved by the Anglo-French Entente of April, 1904. *Fletcher School.*

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NOTE ON THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE

INTER-AMERICAN SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION IN THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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The first meeting of the Conference on Higher Education in the American Republics (CHEAR), held in Mexico City in February, 1958, decided, among other matters, to review the problems of scholarly communication in the humanities and social sciences in the American Republics. This decision was implemented by a series of surveys of the problem throughout South and Central America, the funds for which were provided by the Carnegie Corporation. A number of scholars[1] were asked to make extensive trips throughout their regions to interview university officials and faculty members and write reports on the situation. These reports, which represented the results of well planned consultations with over two hundred educators and scholars in South and Central America, form the basis of this paper.

The report is confined to certain generalizations and common conclusions derived from these valuable and extensive surveys; they can be divided into two parts: (1) scholarly communication within Latin America, and (2) communication between Latin America and the United States.

It should be remembered that this investigation concerned itself exclusively with the humanities and the social sciences. It may be assumed that communication in the natural sciences is generally stronger than in the other branches of learning. Nevertheless, the findings of the investigation lead one to think that, at least in some countries, communication in the natural sciences may deserve more attention than was thought necessary a year ago.

I. SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION WITHIN LATIN AMERICA

The reports of several of the investigators strongly indicate the interest which the CHEAR survey aroused among the educators and scholars who were interviewed. The problem was universally recognized as of great importance and there were many expressions of gratification that CHEAR was concerning itself with it. The extent to which interest in CHEAR and its objectives has been spread throughout Latin America as the result of these surveys is very gratifying.

As for the results of the several studies, the following generalizations emerge:

1. Although the situation varies within different countries and within specific disciplines, communication between scholars, it is agreed, is generally in a deplorable state. This is so not only on the international level, but also within many individual countries of Latin America. Particularly in Brazil, but also in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, there is little communication between the universities in the capital and those in the provinces, or between the scholars on the faculties of these institutions.

2. There was also general agreement on some of the conditions which lie at the root of both national and international communication failures. Most frequently mentioned is the relative absence of research interests in the faculties of the universities in which part-time teaching is still the rule. Research does not advance as a part-time avocation; no sense of a community of scholars engaged in the development of a discipline or field of inquiry is fostered under such conditions. Amateurism and subjectivism flourish where there are no commonly shared standards of scholarly research, no commonly held methodological criteria. The economic conditions which account for the part-time faculty system are well known. The fact remains, however, that knowledge advances largely as the result of the work of many minds devoted to the same general intellectual problems and in good communication with one another. Before all else, scholars must have the time and the resources for specialized and intensive research. As Professor Godoy has shown in his report, scholarly communication is best in those fields in which there are relatively more scholars at work on a full-time teaching and research basis. On the most general level, therefore, it may be said that the major reason for poor scholarly communication in the humanities and social sciences is that there are relatively few scholars who have the time and resources for research.

3. There are nevertheless in every country a

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[1] Dr. I. F. Azofeifa, University of Costa Rica; Dr. Eduardo Wiesner Duran and Dr. John M. Hunter, both of the Universidad de los Andes; Dr. Jorge Basadre, Peru; Dr. Durmeval Trigueiro, Brazil; Dr. Gino Germani, University of Buenos Aires; and Dr. Hernan Godoy Urzúa, University of Chile.

number of scholars in the professional sense. Their lines of communication with their peers in other Latin American countries are also in general poor—where they exist they are personal, sporadic, and accidental. The basic reason, judging from the reports, appears to be that there are so few regular channels organized on a disciplinary basis for communicating the results of scholarly work. Scholars in one country often do not know who is working in the same field in other countries. One of the reporters, visiting a neighboring country on his investigations, asserts that he found no less than three research institutes in his own field of whose existence he had been totally unaware. Another reporter found two instances of scholars in different countries working on translations of the same book.

These examples and others have led several of the reporters independently to the conclusion that one of the first things that should be done if scholarly communication is to be improved is that the universities should issue bulletins, each devoted to a specific field of inquiry, which would state what is taught in that field, what research institutes there are, what faculty are engaged in work in that field, their publications and the availability of those publications for purchase or exchange, and, in addition, statements of research in progress. If the hundred-odd universities of Latin America would do this, an immediate fundamental gap in information would be filled and the basis laid for the development of lines of communication. One scholar felt the need for such bulletins but recommended that they be compiled by an individual scholar and include only information concerning research on an advanced level at both universities and other institutions. Another reporter recommended that CHEAR establish a representative in each of the universities of Latin America on a part-time basis to report systematically on research in progress.

4. Almost all reports stressed the need for centralized bibliographical and documentation centers in the several countries and regions. The one exception was Peru, which apparently has adequate bibliographical services so far as that country's publications are concerned. In other countries agencies exist which could perform such services if their operations were expanded. The Brazilian Institute of Information and Documentation (IBID), for example, is now limited to basic and applied sciences, but with expanded resources it could handle the humanities and social sciences as well. In addition it was suggested that a central agency be established which would publish lists in each field of significant works which should be included in all library collections pretending to respond to the needs of research.

5. Directories of scholars, bulletins of research in progress, bibliographical and documentation services are not very exciting projects to propose, but they are fundamental routines of scholarly communication without which scholarship advances only erratically and uncertainly. More highly developed forms of communication are unlikely to develop unless these basic requirements exist. As was pointed out in several reports, there is no lack of publications in Latin America in the fields of the humanities and social sciences, even if amateurish works are discounted. A good deal of scholarship is reported by universities, but mostly in miscellaneous compilations in which literature, history, linguistics, philology, and other disciplines are all combined. Such publications are difficult to catalogue and index and make the contributions hard for later researchers to retrieve. There is a great need for some professional journals devoted to a single field and issued regularly on an inter-American basis. In some countries there are already good journals which could be expanded to include contributions from scholars throughout the continent. One reporter recommended that two Latin American publications be established, one in the social sciences, the other in the humanities. Other scholars remembered the Pan American Union's *Ciencias Sociales*, and wished it could be revived. In all cases the desideratum seemed to be a regular inter-American publication confined to a single research field which would serve the scholars as a medium of professional communication, as a forum for discussion and reviews of work in progress, and as a source of information on current publications in the field.

6. Scholarly journals, as well as scholarly books, face obstacles to their distribution. Exchanges are difficult to arrange, sometimes for bureaucratic customs or currency reasons, sometimes because of the difficulty in establishing equivalence in the contents. The circulation of journals and books is hampered by inadequate distribution systems, by currency controls, and other economic factors. Chilean books used to be very widely distributed in Peru, but now that they are more expensive they are much more rare in the bookshops of Lima. Even when funds are available ordering is difficult; the mails are slow and frequently unreliable. Most publishers concentrate on their own local markets, though Mexican publishers seem to have been successful in distributing journals and books to a number of Latin American countries.

The complexities of the distribution problems of publications are so great and so diversified that they require a separate study by experts in the field. CHEAR might, however, encourage an investigation of the problem on a hemispheric basis. Preferably the study should be made by one of the Pan-American agencies like OAS, and, perhaps, since economic factors are so important, with the cooperation of ICA.

7. Exchange programs for the most part are organized between North America and Latin America or between Europe and Latin America. Inter-Latin American exchange is generally confined to the informal level of students attending universities outside their own countries. On the faculty or post-graduate level a number of inter-American projects (FLACSO, CEPAL, UNESCO Center for Social Sciences in Rio) have brought together scholars from several Latin American countries. On the whole, however, more should be done to encourage faculty and research exchanges between the universities of Latin America.

8. Professional associations of scholars scarcely exist, even on a national basis. Only in philosophy does an inter-American organization exist which holds regular meetings. In other disciplines, like sociology, there are regional associations. In the social sciences generally there tends to be a split between the traditional speculative scholars and those who use empirical research methods. The latter are not yet sufficiently numerous to have even national associations. History is organized, if at all, only on national lines. Literature, though actively pursued by a great number of individuals, has no scholarly professional organization, nor apparently have the philologists or the anthropologists. Among the latter, it should be pointed out, however, that despite the absence of associations, communication is relatively well developed because in these fields research is most frequently done on a full-time basis.

The reporters tended to agree that the organization of scholarly associations should proceed slowly. In some fields, like *political science*, it will be a long time before the field is sufficiently developed to make even national associations a possibility. For the immediate future the most fruitful action would seem to be to organize a number of small conferences on a regional basis which would bring together scholars in a single field from several countries for the discussion of research and methodology, and to plan for the future development of their discipline in Latin America. Formal organizations of scholars, it is suggested, should be postponed until the numbers are larger and the conditions more propitious.

9. Joint research projects are a potent method of advancing research and improving scholarly communication. As mentioned above, a few already exist on an inter-American basis, such as FLACSO and the UNESCO Center at Rio. In anthropology and archaeology scholars habitually cooperate in joint investigations. But there are numerous opportunities for the expansion of joint research and cooperation which should be explored. Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia, as well as the Central American countries, have common problems in the field of anthropology, sociology, and the other social sciences, problems which would lend themselves to joint research. In the humanities there are fewer good opportunities, but it might be pointed out in passing that despite the number of scholars in the field of history no general history of Latin America as a whole has yet been produced. Archaeology has already been well developed on an inter-American basis, especially in the investigation of pre-Colombian cultures. Linguistic science is a promising field for such cooperation.

In Central America there exists an excellent agency, the Higher Council of the Universities of Central America (CSUCA), for centralized planning of common research projects in that area. Nothing quite like it exists for South America or its regions, although perhaps the UNESCO projects, if expanded, could perform this important function in the field of the social sciences.

II. SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

This section of the report is based, in addition to the above-mentioned reports, on two conferences of scholars held by the ACLS and on correspondence with the scholars who attended the Mexico City conference of CHEAR.

The general picture is not much different from that which obtains within Latin America. Scholarly communication is very poor between the United States and Latin American countries. The only exception is Mexico, with which country there is relatively heavy scholarly traffic.

In the United States scholars in the humanities and social sciences are well organized in national associations, most of which issue regular professional journals. But, with the exception of the American Philosophical Association, these societies have almost no ties with Latin American scholars in their own fields. Very recently a group of United States scholars interested in Latin American studies has been organized: the Association for Latin American Studies (ALAS). This group as it grows in membership and strength will no doubt take a particular interest in communicating with scholars in Latin America, but for the present such relations as exist are almost entirely on an individual basis. Some universities have established close relations with Latin America—the University of Kansas with the University of Costa Rica, Cornell in Peru, while several have close ties with Mexico. This remains an excellent field for CHEAR. Through its conferences it brings together many of the leading educators of the hemisphere. Perhaps with the encouragement of CHEAR, what has happened in the case of the Universities of Costa Rica and Kansas can be repeated in other cases. The spread of such inter-university cooperation on an individual basis can become one of the most important developments in hemispheric scholarly communication.

The following is a summary of the status of United States-Latin American communication under roughly the same headings which were used in the discussion of the relations within Latin America.

1. United States scholars would welcome the directories of scholars and bulletins of research in progress mentioned above. Although many of them have individual connections in one or another country, they are nevertheless in ignorance of most of the work going on in Latin America as a whole. This is true even among the scholars who specialise in Latin American studies. The most important source of bibliographical data, *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*, is very helpful, but it suffers from long delay in publication and carries no information on research in progress. Some scholars urge the revival of the Library of Congress Quarterly Lists and the Pan American Union's *Ciencias Sociales* as important supplements to the *Handbook*.

2. United States learned journals review almost no publications of Latin American scholars. This is partly due to the fact that the journals do not receive very many books for review, partly to inadequate language proficiency, and partly to habits which tend to give greater attention to European scholarship in the field. The bulletins mentioned above would help greatly to stimulate interest in Latin American research. Articles by Latin American scholars are seldom received and even more rarely accepted for publication. A partial reason is the expense of translation.

In preparation for this report, the editors of twelve of the leading learned journals were asked to send their subscription lists for Latin America. *The American Economic Review*, according to a report made in May last year, includes 294 individuals and institutions in all of the countries of Central and South America and the Caribbean among its subscribers. This circulation greatly exceeds that which any other U. S. journal representing the social sciences or the humanities reports for this area. Recent counts of subscribers (both institutional and individual) for those ranking next numerically are: *The American Anthropologist*, 153; *Language* (the journal of the Linguistic Society of America), 82; *American Political Science Review*, 68; *American Sociological Review*, 64. In the fields of history, geography, philosophy, modern languages, art history, and archaeology, the leading learned journals published in the United States have fewer than 25 subscribers in Central and South America.

Some editors would like to expand their circulation in Latin America but lack the funds to advertise or to circularize potential subscribers. Others have pointed out that the cost of subscriptions is high for Latin American scholars and that in many countries currency regulations make private subscriptions almost impossible. If some arrangement for subscribing in local currencies could be made,[2] many more Latin American scholars would subscribe.

A similar problem attends book distribution. The Association of University Presses reports that book sales in Latin America are much lower than in other parts of the world. The exorbitant price of books is considered to be a more important deterrent than the language barriers. For some time there has been discussion among the Presses of a plan to sell reproduction proofs to Latin American publishers who could then publish them by offset processes. Thus far, this proposal remains only a possibility. No action has yet been taken on it.

In some fields there are additional problems. Important scholarly works in the social sciences which are used as the basis of teaching in the United States cannot be simply translated into Spanish or Portuguese: they must be adapted to the Latin American setting in order to be intelligible and usable. The nascent empirical social sciences in Latin America stand in great need of scholarly adaptations of a number of works in sociology and political science, and to some extent in economics.

3. Exchanges between the United States and Latin America are expanding to an encouraging degree. Scholars make the following observations, however: (a) There is a heavy concentration on natural science and medicine in the exchange programs. (b) Post-graduate exchanges are less extensive than student exchanges and must be encouraged if research and scholarship are to benefit in the long run. (c) It is difficult for Latin American university faculty members to come to the United States for teaching or research if the greater part of their income is derived from non-teaching occupations. (d) United States scholars who teach and do research in the field of Latin American studies still have insufficient opportunities to make the periodic field trips which their work requires. (e) Those who are working in disciplines like sociology, political science, history, and literature should become more aware of the excellent opportunities for research in their

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[2] [This REVIEW for the past two years has been accepting foreign subscriptions in local currencies.—MAN. ED.]

fields in Latin America. Particularly in the social sciences interest in Latin America is negligible and badly in need of encouragement. (f) In some cases short-term exchange visits by leading scholars are more productive than longer visits by younger men. In other cases a year is insufficient time for the kind of training needed. Exchange programs thus should be flexible in order to enable them to be used to maximum advantage.

4. One scholar cited the now defunct Institute of Social Anthropology, established by the Smithsonian Institution, as a very effective organization. It maintained representatives in a number of Latin American countries in research and training capacities and had a publication program. In the view of this scholar, the Institute could well be a model for future inter-American scholarly relations, especially if it were expanded to include other disciplines.

This and other possibilities for the establishment of joint inter-American research agencies might well be explored by CHEAR. There are many other opportunities for cooperative research by United States and Latin American scholars, especially in the social sciences, which would bring large rewards in research and training. The present exchange programs offer some possibilities for financing them; others will have to be supported by specific grants. Such projects, because of the close and lasting relations created by them, should have a priority in inter-American plans for scholarly communication.

5. A number of other suggestions may be mentioned briefly:

(a) There is a need to encourage the attendance and the reading of papers by Latin American scholars at meetings of United States and international learned societies.

(b) A number of small, carefully planned inter-American conferences in specific disciplines should be projected and supported.

(c) The present program for research grants in Latin American studies should be expanded to enable more grants to be given for research by United States scholars in Latin America.

(d) A number of inter-American organizations already in existence should be encouraged to make cultural and scholarly communication a major concern. CHEAR is well-suited as an agency to stimulate and coordinate such programs.

III. CONCLUSION

This report has covered a good deal of ground. Some of the problems discussed must be left to the individual institutions and countries themselves for their consideration. The problem of inter-university relations within the several countries, the problem of the part-time faculty, and many others which affect inter-American scholarship cannot, except in an indirect and general way, be the concern of this group. But the universities represented in CHEAR might take the leadership in establishing better communication between their institutions and the other universities of their countries.

NEWS AND NOTES

APSA GROUP TERM LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM

As announced in a previous issue of the REVIEW, the National Office and the Executive Committee of the Association have spent many months in study and investigation to perfect a term life insurance program on a group basis which will provide attractive advantages to the membership. We are happy to announce that details of such a program have now been satisfactorily worked out with the result that a target date of November 1, 1960 has been set to put the program in effect.

Salient features of the program are listed below. To supplement this information an explanatory booklet and application card will be mailed to each eligible member during the month of September. Members attending the fifty-sixth Annual Meeting in New York will be given an opportunity to enroll in the program during the meeting. Members not enrolling there will have until November 1 to make application.

1. *Eligibility:* Group insurance statutes will require limitation of coverage to "Professional" members. Complete details of eligibility will be included in the explanatory booklet which will be mailed to you.

2. *Coverage:* Term life insurance, payable upon death from any cause, will be coupled with 24-hour accidental death and dismemberment coverage. Members between the ages of 40 and 60 will be insured for $10,000 ($20,000 if death is accidental) while higher amounts will be provided for members under age 40 and lower amounts for members over age 60.

3. *Costs:* Rates charged the membership will be governed by the minimum Group Term Rate tables required of all insurance carriers doing business in all 50 states. It is expected that substantial dividends will be earned. Such dividends will be used for the benefit of the members. Under the terms of the trust to be established no funds derived from dividends can be used for operating expenses of the Association.

4. *Medical Requirements:* In accordance with the insurance statutes of the several states no medical examination will be required of members electing to participate on or before November 1, 1960, except in the states of New Jersey, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin.

5. *Administration:* The program will be governed by three Trustees appointed by the officers of the Association and will be on a "non-profit basis. Members will receive insurance certificate One master group policy will be entered into b the Trustees and the insurance carrier.

6. *Termination of Protection:* Once insured member may continue coverage until death pro vided he or she maintains membership in goo standing in the Association.

7. *Permanent and Total Disability:* In the even that a member becomes permanently and totall disabled prior to age 60, all future premiums wil be waived so long as the member from time t time provides satisfactory proof of continuou disability to the insurance carrier.

8. *Use of Association Funds:* By use of a toke enrollment fee of $2.50 all costs of administerin and promoting the Association insurance progran will be borne by the participating member at n cost to the Association.

9. *Importance of Prompt Participation:* To insure actuarial soundness and to protect member participating from the outset, only members enrolling in the program during the initial enrollment period ending November 1, 1960 will b allowed to participate without medical evidenc of insurability satisfactory to the insurance carrier. Members foregoing the option of participation who later change their minds will only b insured upon presentation (at their own expense) of evidence of insurability satisfactory to the insurance carrier.

10. *Participation by Future New Eligible Members:* Members becoming eligible for the first time subsequent to November 1, 1960 will be allowed to participate without medical examination at the quarterly "open house" next following their attainment of eligible status.

In sponsoring this life insurance program the officers of your Association feel they are making available a significant service. On the other hand the program can only prove a success with the active participation and support of the membership. If, after receipt of the explanatory booklet and application card, any questions remain unanswered, you are urged to direct your questions to: THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION LIFE INSURANCE TRUST FUND, 1726 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCES

The Midwest Conference of Political Scientists held its eighteenth annual meeting April 28 to 30 at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. General sessions of the Conference were addressed by Herbert J. Mueller on "Towards a Philosophy of Political Science" and by President Carl B. Swisher of the American Political Science Association on "Regional Roots of Supreme Court Behavior."

Panel sessions featured papers and discussions on the following topics: "Congressional Representation of the Midwest," "The Politics of the Congressional Committee Assignment Process," "The 'Enemy' in Soviet Propaganda, 1917–1959," "The Present Place of Political Philosophy," "Interdisciplinary Analysis of an Underdeveloped Area (India)," "The Office of the Chief Justice of the United States," "The Constitution and the Governors," "Midwest Municipal Political Systems," "Political Behavior in Western and Non-Western Countries," "Power as an Explanatory Concept in International Relations," "Patterns of National Politics Emerging from State Party Trends," "Food and Drug Laws and State and Local Government," "Bentley's Functionalism and a General Theory of Politics," and "The Calculation of Deterrence." Special sessions were held on "Graduate Training of Political Scientists," "The Job Market for Ph.D.s," "The Nature of Future Conference Programs," and "The National Defense Fellowship Program."

President Amry Vandenbosch chaired the business meeting of the Conference, which elected the following new officers: Lloyd M. Short, Minnesota, president; Paul C. Bartholomew, Notre Dame, vice-president; and as members of the executive council, Louis H. Douglas, Kansas State and Frank L. Klingberg, Southern Illinois.

The 1961 meeting will be held at the University of Missouri on May 11 to 13.

The Northern California Political Science Astion held its annual meeting jointly with the Western Political Science Association at the University of California (Berkeley) on April 15–16, 1960. The Presidential Citation Award for teaching, service to the profession, community service and research was conferred upon Burton R. Brazil of San Jose State College. Officers elected for 1960–61 were: president, Alexander Smetana, University of San Francisco; vice-president, Benjamin C. Franklin, Chico State College; secretary-treasurer, John M. Selig, City College of San Francisco. The following were elected to the council: Gilbert Abcarian, Humboldt State College; Charles W. Black, Modesto Junior College; John H. Bunzel, Stanford University; Bernard Kronic, University of Santa Clara; Paul Murray, Sacramento State College; Peter H. Odegard, University of California; Frederic A. Weed, San Jose State College.

The 1960 annual meeting of the New England Political Science Association was held on April 23 to 24 at the University of Massachusetts. James Burns of Williams College was elected president for the coming year, Norman Padelford of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology will serve as vice president, and Vernon Ferwarda of Trinity College will continue as secretary-treasurer. Rolf Haugen of the University of Vermont, Stanley Hoffman of Harvard University, and Duane Lockard of Connecticut College were elected to the executive committee.

The meeting opened with a Saturday afternoon panel on "New Fields for African Research," chaired by Rupert Emerson of Harvard University. Gwendolen Carter, Smith College and Jo Saxe, Harvard University, delivered papers; discussants included Ruth Schachter, Boston University and Lawrence Howard, Brandeis University.

The Saturday evening dinner meeting featured an address on "State Government: A Challenge to Political Scientists" by Kermit Morrissey, Budget Director of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The closing Sunday morning panel was on "Party Reform Revisited," marking the tenth anniversary of the American Political Science Association report on political parties. Participants included E. E. Schattschneider, Wesleyan University; Earl Latham, Amherst College; E. William Steele, University of Vermont; with Robert Dahl of Yale University serving as chairman.

The New York Political Science Association held its 1960 annual meeting on the campus of Hofstra College, Hempstead, L. I., on April 22, 23. The principal speaker was Mr. Meyer Cohen, director of the Bureau of Operations, United Nations Special Fund. Mr. Cohen spoke on the topic of the role of the United Nations in accelerating the economic development of the less developed countries. In addition, there were panel discussions on the problems of metropolitan areas and on the politics of the nominating process.

Willard N. Hogan, State University College of Education, New Paltz, New York, was president of the Association for 1959–60 and Donald Bishop of Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, was elected president for the following year.

In observance of the 50th Anniversary of its formal establishment, the department of political science at the University of Michigan conducted a series of Conference-Seminars at Ann Arbor on April 8–9, 1960. Centering around the general theme of "The Status and Prospects of Political Science as a Discipline," the seminars were attended by many of the graduates of the department, a number of political scientists from elsewhere, and members of the departmental staff. Specially invited guest speakers included The Right Honorable Lord Bridges, former Secretary to the British Cabinet and Permanent Secretary of the Treasury; Professors V. O. Key, Harvard University; Rowland Egger, University of Virginia; Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky; Lloyd M. McCaffree, Director of Research, Republican National Committee; John A. Perkins, President of the University of Delaware; the Honorable Joseph Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and former Director of the Foreign Service; Evron Kirkpatrick, Executive Director, APSA; Governor G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan. A 30-page brochure outlining the main developments in the teaching of political science at Michigan, which began in 1860 when lectures by Professor Thomas M. Cooley on constitutional law and history were first offered, was prepared for the occasion and is available for distribution to graduates and friends of the department. The formal papers presented at the seminars by Lord Bridges, Professor Key, Dr. Perkins, and the present departmental chairman, Professor James K. Pollock, will be published.

Ninety members of the Ohio Association of Economists and Political Scientists met at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, on March 12. Dr. Warne, luncheon speaker, discussed "Advertising and Consumer Behavior." Political scientists appearing on the program were: Norman Blume, University of Toledo; H. P. Secher, Western Reserve University; Herbert Waltzer, Miami University; Hoke Smith, Hiram College. New officers are: Ray Gusteson, Political Science, Ohio University, president; Alvin S. Tostlebe, Economics, Wooster, College vice-president; Mona Fletcher, Political Science, Kent State University was reelected secretary-treasurer.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The Journal Fund, 200 West 7th Street, Plainield, New Jersey, has included two articles pubished in this Review among its Silver Pen Awards for 1955–59 to authors and editors of earned publications. The awards make "a modest stand on behalf of the English language n learned publication. [They] are little concerned with the hypotheses and viewpoints of scholars, the quality of their research or the importance of their subjects. Our concern here is writing: we ike to see scholars express themselves clearly and . . . even with style; we encourage authorities to communicate their work to readers, not simply to make it available for inspection." The articles cited from this Review are "Conservatism as an Ideology," by Samuel P. Huntington, n the July 1957 issue, and "Senate Rules and the Civil Rights Bill," by Howard E. Shuman, in the December 1957 issue.

The Foreign Policy Clearing House, 300 Independence Avenue, S.E., Washington 3, D. C., with the aid of a grant from the Institute for International Order, has prepared and published, in two parts, summaries of the principal findings and recommendations of the 13 foreign policy studies recently completed for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Part I takes the reports in sequence; Part II analyses them topically. Copies are available at a nominal charge.

Long Island University in Brooklyn, New York, established a new department of political science in September, 1960. Edward W. Mill was appointed professor of political science and chairman of the department. Both undergraduate and graduate work are now offered by the new department. The graduate program is centered around two programs, one in international relations and diplomacy, and the other in public administration.

The Florida Interim Legislative Committee on Taxation and Finance has awarded Florida State University a grant to make a study of property taxation in Florida. Members of the department of government, the institute of governmental research and service and the department of economics are conducting the study. Juanita Gibson, associate professor of government is director of the project.

The American Council of Learned Societies lists three political scientists, William N. Chambers of Washington State University, Cariey B Joynt of Lehigh and Sidney Warren of Calfornia. Western University, among the 48 scholars in a national competition who received grant awards in June for assistance in research in the humanities and social sciences.

The Social Science Research Council's annual announcement describing fellowships and grants to be awarded in 1960–61 was ready for distribution in early September. It lists the following programs which are to be continued without major changes: Research Training Fellowships, predoctoral and postdoctoral; Faculty Research Fellowships; Grants-in-Aid of Research; Fellowships in Political Theory and Legal Philosophy; Grants for research on American Governmental and Legal Processes, and on National Security Policy.

International Conference Travel Grants are offered to American social scientists for travel to certain meetings abroad, a list of which will be announced later.

Under joint sponsorship with the American Council of Learned Societies, grants are offered to mature scholars for research in the social sciences and humanities on certain foreign areas. Grants for research on Africa South of the Sahara, on Contemporary China, on Latin America, and on the Near and Middle East (including North Africa) will be administered by the SSRC, while those for Asian Studies and for Slavic and East European Studies will be administered by the ACLS.

Inquiries and requests for the detailed announcement when issued may be addressed to the SSRC at 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. Applications for some categories of awards will be due not later than November 1.

The World Affairs Center Fellowship for the Study of International Organization is being offered for the fourth year to American college and university teachers in academic fields concerned with international problems. The program brings one Fellow each year to New York City for nine or twelve months of study and observation at the United Nations, in pursuit of a specific project of his own choosing. The Fellowship was established under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to strengthen the teaching of world affairs in the United States.

The Fellowship is open to faculty members not over 40 years of age, who hold the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent and are firmly committed to careers as teachers in the United States. Candidates from fields such as economics, history, law, political science, public administration or sociology will be welcome. Those who have had previous opportunity to acquire first-hand familiarity with international institutions will not ordinarily be considered.

The World Affairs Center was founded in 1956 by the Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The deadline for applications is January 16, 1961. Inquiries about the program may be directed to: Fellowship Program, Foreign Policy Association—World Affairs Center, First Avenue at 47th St., New York 17, New York.

Alan A. Altshuler of the University of Chicago has been appointed instructor in political science at Swarthmore for the year 1960–61.

Hannah Arendt has received an appointment as visiting professor of government at Columbia for the fall term.

Allen Ballard, Jr., Harvard University, has been appointed visiting lecturer in government at Dartmouth.

Lucius J. Barker, assistant professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, recently received one of the two $1,000 William H. Kiefhofer Memorial Teaching Awards for excellency in teaching at the all-University of Wisconsin faculty meeting held on the Madison campus. Professor Barker earlier had received the $500 Edward and Rosa Uhrig Award for excellency in teaching on the Milwaukee campus. Both awards were for the 1959–60 school year.

Marver H. Bernstein has been serving as co-director of a Seminar on Regulatory Administration at the Brookings Institution, attended by a group of distinguished judges, government officials, lawyers, trade association representatives, and others. The seminar met monthly for a period of eight months. Its first objective was the preparation of a research program in regulatory administration for consideration by the Brookings Institute.

Heinz Bertelsmann, associate professor of government at Bard College was granted a leave of absence for the spring semester, 1960 to complete his study of the activities of pressure groups in the consideration of economic legislation in Western Germany with parliamentary and secretariat documents in Bonn and West Berlin.

D. W. Brogan of Cambridge University taught in the 1960 summer session at the University of California, Berkeley.

Douglas Chalmers of Yale has been appointed lecturer in political science at Swarthmore for the first semester of 1960–61.

John W. Chapman, of the University of Pittsburgh, delivered a series of lectures in Poland at the Uniwersitet Marri Curie-Sklodowskiej, Lublin, and at the Wyzsza Szkola Ekonomiczna, Krakow.

Morris H. Cohen, associate professor of government, Clark University, has been elected president of the Worcester Plan "E" Association, th Worcester civic improvement organization.

John A. Crittenden, formerly of the Universit of North Carolina and recently law and behavioral science research fellow at the University of Chicago Law School, has accepted an appointment as visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Southern California.

Karl W. Deutsch, professor of political science at Yale, spent three summer months in 1960 in Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy, continuing his studies on large-scale political communities. He also lectured in June and July as visiting professor at the University of Heidelberg, on "Nationalism and Supra-National Community" and conducted a seminar on "Quantitative Research Methods in Political Science."

G. Homer Durham, academic vice-president of the University of Utah, has been appointed to the National Language Advisory Board of the United States Office of Education.

Alex T. Edelmann, University of Nebraska, with the assistance of a research grant, spent part of the summer of 1960 studying in Mexico.

Herman Finer, professor of political science, University of Chicago, taught in the 1960 summer session of the University of California, Berkeley.

John A. Fitzgerald of the University of Chicago has accepted a one-year appointment as instructor in comparative government and political theory at Whitman College.

Robert S. Friedman, associate professor of government at Louisiana State University, was visiting associate professor of political science at Washington University at St. Louis for the summer of 1960.

Gidon A. G. Gottlieb of Harvard Law School has been appointed lecturer in government at Dartmouth.

George L. Grassmuck of the University of Michigan, is working in the Office of the Vice President of the United States during 1960.

Barbara Buckstein Green, of the department of political science at Wellesley College, received a grant from the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants for travel in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1960.

Ernst B. Haas, associate professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, will be on leave in 1960–61, conducting research in Rome and Geneva, under a grant from the Social Science Research Council, on the integrative impact of international institutions of a non-political character.

Charles M. Hardin, University of Chicago, is editor of the September ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on the subject "Agricultural Policy, Politics, and the Public Interest."

Joseph P. Harris will be research professor in the legislative process at the University of California, Berkeley, during the fall term 1960, and on sabbatical leave in the spring.

William C. Havard, professor of government at Louisiana State University will spend the academic year 1960–61 at the University of Munich as a Fulbright Lecturer.

Murray C. Havens of Duke University served as a visiting faculty member in political science at the Johns Hopkins University during the summer session.

Reuel G. Hemdahl will be acting head of the department of political science at the University of Louisville during 1960–61.

Norman L. Hill, following a Fulbright year in Wales, returned to his teaching duties at Nebraska. He was named Distinguished Service Professor in Social Sciences for 1960 by the Board of Regents in May.

Franklin W. Houn, formerly of the University of Dubuque, taught classes in the Far Eastern Institute at Nebraska for the summer session 1960. He will be visiting associate professor of political science at Nebraska during the academic year 1960–61.

J. C. Hurewitz and Dankwart Rustow of the department of public law and government at Columbia were the recipients of travel grants to participate in the 25th International Congress of Orientalists at Moscow, 8–16 August, 1960.

Scott D. Johnston, professor of political science at Hamline University, has been granted a Social Science Research Council stipend in conjunction with a sabbatical leave during the fall semester of 1960 to undertake a study of the political party system of Israel.

Frank H. Jonas, professor of political science at the University of Utah, has been appointed Chester W. Nimitz professor of political and social philosophy at the Naval War College for the year 1960–61.

Charles O. Jones of the department of political science at Wellesley College has received a grant from the Huber Foundation for the study of a congressional campaign in Maine.

Victor Jones, professor of political science will continue as the University of California representative to the Graduate School of Administrative Sciences, University of Bologna, until the beginning of the 1961 spring semester.

Bertrand de Jouvenel will be visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, during the 1960 fall semester. He is a member of the Conseil Economique et Social of France and president of the Societe d'Etudes et de Documentation Economiques, Industrielles et Sociales.

Elie Kedourie, reader at the London School of Economics, will be visiting associate professor of politics at Princeton University, 1960–61.

Louis C. Kesselman of the University of Louisville will be a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Helsinki and the School of Social Sciences, Helsinki during the 1960–61 academic year.

Otto Kirchheimer has received an appointment as visiting professor of government at Columbia for the year 1960–61.

Richard H. Leach of Duke University lectured in political science at the University of Houston during the second term of summer school.

Albert Lepawsky, professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, will continue to serve as director of the United Nations Technical Assistance Training and Recruiting Center at Vancouver, Canada, until the beginning of the 1961 spring semester.

Benjamin Lippincott of the University of Minnesota was on leave of absence during the spring semester of 1959–60 for the purposes of research and writing.

David Lowenthal, associate professor of political science at Wheaton College, Massachusetts, taught in the 1960 summer session of the University of California, Berkeley.

Gilbert L. Lycan, head of the department of history and political science at Stetson University, Deland, was elected president of the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting in Mt. Dora, April 8.

John A. Marcum, assistant professor of political science at Colgate University, is spending the first semester doing research in French-Speaking Africa.

Lucian Marquis, University of Oregon, was given the Ersted Award for distinguished teaching. The award carries a stipend of $1,000.

Nicholas A. Masters of Wayne State University has become visiting associate professor at Washington University where he will be associate research director of a study of the impact of state political decisions on the public schools, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Edward McWhinney, professor of International and Comparative Law at the University of Toronto, has been awarded a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship in Legal and Political Philosophy and will be on leave of absence during the whole of the academic year 1960–61. He will work at the Max-Planck-Institut for Public Law and International Law at Heidelberg, and at other European legal centers.

Lennox A. Mills of the University of Minnesota was on sabbatical leave during the spring and summer of 1960. He spent the time in England in the furtherance of his research and writing on the domestic and foreign politics and economics of the countries of Southeast Asia.

Donald G. Morgan will take a leave of absence from Mount Holyoke College during the fall semester, 1960–61 in order to further his project on the Responsibility of Congress for Considering Constitutional Questions. Mr. Morgan has grants from the Social Science Research Council and the American Philosophical Society.

Robert J. Morgan, associate professor of the department of political science at the University of Virginia will be on leave during 1960–62 to serve temporarily on the staff of The Resources For the Future, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Fauzi M. Najjar, assistant professor of social science and foreign studies, Michigan State University, has been given a Rockefeller Foundation grant to do research on Democratic and Non-Democratic Patterns in Arab History and Thought. Dr. Najjar will spend 1960–61 in the Middle East on a leave of absence from Michigan State University.

Peter Odegard of the University of California was visiting lecturer in the department of political science at the University of Mississippi during April.

Felix E. Oppenheim, formerly at the University of Delaware, was visiting lecturer in the department of politics at Princeton University during the spring term, 1960.

Richard L. Park, associate professor of politica science, University of Michigan, taught at th 1960 summer session of the University of California, Berkeley.

Malcolm B. Parsons, professor of governmen at the Florida State University, received a summer research grant from the University Researcl Council in support of a study of "The Blo Composition of the Florida State Senate sinc 1947."

Guy J. Pauker, associate professor of politica science, University of California, Berkeley, will be engaged in full-time research on the military in Indonesian politics for the RAND Corporation during the 1960–61 academic year.

Roy V. Peel, chairman of the department of political science at the University of Utah, spent the winter and spring quarters as visiting professor at Michigan State University.

Edward L. Pinney of Louisiana State University will spend the summer of 1960 in Bonn, Germany under a research grant from the Louisiana State University Graduate Council.

E. Raymond Platig, associate professor of international relations and staff member of the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, is on a twelve-months leave of absence to do research on "John Foster Dulles and the Baghdad Pact: A Case Study in Coalition Diplomacy," facilitated by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

James W. Prothro, professor of government at Florida State University, is visiting professor of political science and visiting research professor in the institute for research in social science at the University of North Carolina, June 1960 through August, 1961.

Robert S. Rankin of Duke University will be on sabbatical leave during the academic year 1960–61. During his absence his duties as chairman of the department of political science are being exercised by Professor John H. Hallowell.

Michael D. Reagan, Williams College, will be visiting assistant professor of politics at Princeton University, 1960–61.

William O. Reichert of the University of Kentucky will serve as visiting assistant professor of political sciences at Nebraska during the year 1960–61.

At the request of the Department of State Henry Reiff of St. Lawrence University will lecture in Korea for three months in the fall of 1960.

Elston E. Roady, professor of government, has received a summer research appointment from the Florida State University Research Council to study "Money in Florida Politics: A Study of the Operation of Florida's Unique 'Who Gave It —Who Got It Law,' 1952–60."

Carl G. Rosberg, assistant professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, will be on leave during 1960–61 for research in British East Africa on political leadership in groups.

Leo Rosten, author and editor, will be Ford Rotating Research Professor in Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Berkeley, during 1960–61.

Richard M. Scammon, director of elections research for the Governmental Affairs Institute and editor of the Institute's *America Votes* series, has been appointed Consultant on Voting to the Commission on Civil Rights.

Lester G. Seligman, University of Oregon is spending his sabbatical year 1960–61 as a Fulbright lecturer in American Studies at the Hebrew University.

Robert J. Steamer, associate professor of government at Louisiana State University, will be visiting associate professor at Cornell University for the summer of 1960.

James A. Storing of Colgate University served as a special consultant to the International Summer School at the University of Oslo during the course of the summer.

Richard W. Van Wagenen of the American University has become a member of the board of trustees of the Social Science Foundation of the University of Denver.

Eric Waldman, chairman, department of political science, Marquette University, was awarded a NATO Advanced Research Fellowship for the summer of 1960.

Myron Weiner, University of Chicago, has been appointed as chairman of a newly created Committee on State Politics in India under the auspices of the Committee on South Asia on the Association for Asian Studies.

Guenter Weissberg has been appointed visiting assistant professor for the fall term 1960–61 at Cornell University to replace Herbert W. Briggs, who will be on sabbatical leave next year, having received a Rockefeller grant for study of the International Law Commission in Geneva.

Richard S. Wheeler, lecturer in political science at the University of California (Berkeley), has accepted a post as visiting faculty member at Duke University.

Rene de Visme Williamson, chairman of the department of government, Louisiana State University, was visiting professor of political science at Vanderbilt University for the summer of 1960.

Raphael Zariski, University of Nebraska, has been appointed to a Fulbright lectureship for 1960–61 at the University of Florence, Italy.

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Merritt G. Abrash, candidate for Ph.D., Columbia University, has been appointed instructor in the department of history, government and international relations, Clark University, 1960–61.

William G. Andrews has been promoted to assistant professor of government at Dartmouth.

M. Margaret Ball, professor of political science, Wellesley College, has been elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Samuel H. Barnes has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor at the University of Michigan.

Paul Beckett of Washington State University has been re-elected departmental chairman for another four-year term.

Gary Lee Best, of Northwestern, has been appointed instructor of political science at the University of Oregon.

David A. Bingham, research associate in the bureau of business and public research, University of Arizona, has been promoted to associate professor of public administration.

William W. Boyer, University of Pittsburgh, was awarded a State Department grant to conduct a world lecture tour from May through August, 1960. His tour included lectures before university and other groups in Taiwan, Singapore, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, and Jordan.

John J. Bucholtz, candidate for the Ph.D. in the department of politics at Princeton University, has been appointed instructor in political science at Mount Holyoke College.

Elbert M. Byrd, Jr., has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor at the University of Maryland.

Francis P. Canavan, S.J., formerly of St.

Peter's College has become assistant editor of *America*.

Holbert N. Carroll has been promoted to professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh.

H. Paul Castleberry has been promoted from associate professor to professor of political science at Washington State University, effective September, 1960.

Carl Q. Christol, professor of political science at the University of Southern California, has been named head of the department to succeed professor Totton J. Anderson under the established university policy of rotating chairmanships.

Inis L. Claude has been promoted to the rank of professor at the University of Michigan.

Percy E. Corbett has received a three-year appointment as professor in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia.

Brownlee Sands Corrin has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of political science at Goucher College.

Paul T. David has accepted a position as professor in the department of political science at the University of Virginia.

Harry R. Davis is on leave from Beloit College, 1960–61 to study the problem of natural law in Protestant thought. He will work principally in Britain, on grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Lilly Endowment.

B. Vincent Davis has been appointed an instructor in politics, Princeton University.

Kenneth E. Davison has been promoted to professor of political science at Heidelberg College.

Conley H. Dillon of the department of political science at Marshall College has been appointed professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland.

Jay Doubleday has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley.

Jack D. Dowell has joined the staff of Washington State University as assistant professor of political science.

Ralph Eisenberg has joined the bureau of public administration and the department of political science at the University of Virginia as assistant professor.

Alan Engel, who received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University in August, has joined the staff at Miami University (Ohio) with the rank of assistant professor of government.

Eugene Feingold of Princeton University has been appointed instructor of political science at the University of Michigan.

Alan Fiellin has been promoted to assistant professor of government at Dartmouth.

George Fischer has been appointed as associate professor of politics at Brandeis University, effective for 1960–61.

Robert Y. Fluno has been made Miles C. Moore professor of political science at Whitman College, a position vacated by the retirement of Chester C. Maxey.

Richard M. Fontera of Muskingum College has joined the staff in political science at Whitman College.

Kurt Glaser has been appointed associate professor of government at the Southwest Illinois Campus of Southern Illinois University at Alton.

Robert T. Golembiewski, formerly instructor, department of politics, Princeton University, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor in the department of management, school of commerce and business administration, University of Illinois.

Elliot R. Goodman of Brown University has been promoted to associate professor of political science.

William M. Griffin has been appointed assistant director of the bureau of public administration and associate professor of political science at the University of Virginia.

Joseph Hajda of Kansas State University has been promoted to associate professor of political science.

Heinz R. Hink has been promoted to associate professor at Arizona State University.

James E. Holton, doctoral candidate at the University of Chicago has become instructor in political science at Washington State University.

Waring C. Hopkins, Walter V. Hohenstein and Klaus J. Herrmann have been appointed lecturers in government and politics in the overseas program of the University of Maryland.

Robert Horwitz at Michigan State has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Bernard L. Hyink, formerly of the University of Southern California has accepted an appointment as dean of educational services and the summer session and professor of political science at Orange County State College.

Warren Ilchman has been reappointed instructor in political science at Williams College for the year 1960–61.

Harold Kaplan of Columbia University has been appointed to an instructorship at the University of Rochester for the year 1960–61.

Erwin F. Karner has been appointed an instructor at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, Rapid City, South Dakota.

Ivan J. Kubanis, formerly of the University of Minnesota, who served as visiting assistant professor at the University of Southern California for the academic year 1959–60 has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the San Diego State College.

After 32 years, Claudius O. Johnson became professor emeritus of political science at Washington State University as of the close of the 1959–60 school year. For 23 years (1928–51) Professor Johnson was head of what was then a combined department of history and political science at WSU. Since 1951 he has held what was in substance a distinguished research professorship in political science. His writings in the field of American government and civil liberties are well known. For 1960–61 Professor Johnson has a John Hay Whitney Foundation Award for emeritus professors and will serve as a visiting professor of political science at Chatham College in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Lane W. Lancaster, University of Nebraska, retired in June after 30 years of service. In 1954, he was named the first Distinguished Service Professor by the Board of Regents. After an extended trip in Europe Professor Lancaster will make his home in Berkeley, California.

Allen Lee has been appointed to the department of political science at Washington and Jefferson College with the rank of assistant professor.

N. Wing Mah, of the department of political science, University of California, Berkeley, retired in June 1960 after 38 years as a member of the faculty.

John P. Mallan has resigned as executive director of the Massachusetts Audit of State Needs to accept an assistant professorship at Smith College.

Roger Marz, recently of Wayne State University, was appointed assistant professor of political science at Harpur College, effective February 1, 1960.

Bruce B. Mason of the University of Illinois institute of government and public affairs has been appointed director of the bureau of government research and associate professor at Arizona State University.

H. G. McCleskey, instructor at the University of Texas, has accepted a position at the University of Houston.

Herbert McClosky joined the faculty of the department of political science University of California, Berkeley, beginning in September 1960.

Daniel W. McGuire has been promoted to the rank of full professor at Niagara University.

Robert I. Mendelsohn will become instructor of political science at the University of Oregon.

Warner E. Mills, Jr., is acting chairman of the department of government at Beloit College.

William C. Mitchell, formerly of Harvard, has become an assistant professor at the University of Oregon.

Ralph M. Miwa has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of political science at the University of Missouri.

Israwl T. Naamani and Mavis Mann Reeves have joined the department of political science at the University of Louisville.

Martin Needler of Dartmouth College has been appointed instructor of political science at the University of Michigan.

Joan M. Nelson has been appointed instructor in the department of political science at Wellesley College.

Lowell G. Noonan, formerly associate professor at the University of Southern California, has been appointed associate professor of political science at the San Fernando Valley State College.

Maurice E. O'Donnell, assistant director of the bureau of governmental research has been appointed assistant professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland.

Ross R. Rice, chairman of the department of political science at Arizona State University, has been promoted to professor.

S. Grover Rich of the University of Utah has been promoted to the rank of professor. He has been elected executive secretary of the International Studies Association organized at the meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Berkeley in March.

Adolph W. Riederer from New York University is a new instructor in the department of government, effective September, 1960.

James W. Robbins, formerly of the University of Missouri has been appointed associate professor and chairman of the department of political science at Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa.

Clinton Rossiter has succeeded Dexter Perkins as John L. Senior professor of American Institutions at Cornell University. He will be on sabbatical leave in 1960–61 and will serve as Pitt professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University.

Robert H. Salisbury has been promoted to associate professor at Washington University.

Robert F. Sasseen has been appointed as an instructor in political science at Marquette University.

John W. Schwada, on leave from the University of Missouri to serve as comptroller and budget director for the State of Missouri has been promoted to the rank of professor.

John A. Schutz of Whittier College taught at the University of British Columbia during the 1960 summer session.

Irwin J. Schulman has been appointed an instructor at the University of Pittsburgh.

J. David Singer, visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan will join the Mental Health Research Institute of the University of Michigan in January 1961.

Richard L. Sklar has been appointed an instructor in politics, Princeton University.

Glenn A. Snyder, research associate, center of international studies, Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor and staff member of the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, beginning September 1960.

Jay B. Sorenson has been appointed instructor in politics at Princeton, 1960–61.

Vincent E. Starzinger of Harvard University has been appointed assistant professor of government at Dartmouth.

Kenneth W. Thompson has become Director for the Social Sciences at The Rockefeller Foundation.

Edward Taborsky has been promoted to the rank of full professor of government, effective September 1, 1960.

Kurt Tauber, currently visiting lecturer in political science at Williams College, has been appointed assistant professor of political science.

Robert O. Tilman who has recently returned from a year of field work on the subject of bureaucracy in the Federation of Malaya has assumed the duties of executive secretary of the Commonwealth Studies Center of Duke University.

Myron L. Tripp has resigned as professor of history and political science at Great Lakes College and has migrated to Australia where he is visiting lecturer in political science at the University of Tasmania.

John Turner and George Warp were promoted to full professorships at the University of Minnesota beginning with the 1959–60 academic year.

Thomas Ungs, formerly of the University of North Dakota, has become assistant professor of political science at the University of Wichita.

Frederic A. Weed, associate professor of political science has been named head of the San Jose State College political science and public administration department effective at the beginning of the 1960–61 academic year.

Ruth G. Weintraub has resigned from the chairmanship of the department of political science of Hunter College in order to devote more time to the position of director of graduate study at Hunter College. Frederick L. Zimmermann has been selected as the new chairman.

Legrand Weller, of Duke University, has been appointed assistant professor and acting chairman of the department of government at Wofford College.

C. Sylvester Whitaker has been appointed an instructor in politics, Princeton University.

Bernard D. Williams has been promoted to assistant professor at Niagara University.

David M. Wood has been appointed instructor in political science at the University of Missouri, effective September, 1960.

Harmon Ziegler, completing his Ph.D. at the University of Illinois, has been appointed assistant professor of government at Florida State University.

NEWS AND NOTES

Other Activities

Sr. Jorge B. Vivas, Director of the *Boletin de la Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nacion,* Buenos Aires, invites manuscript contributions, 25 typed pages minimum, on topics in political science, constitutional or parliamentary law, legislation, sociology, economics and public finance, to be published in Spanish in the Bulletin. The Argentine Library of Congress will send the author 100 reprints and 5 copies of the issue of the Bulletin in which his article is published.

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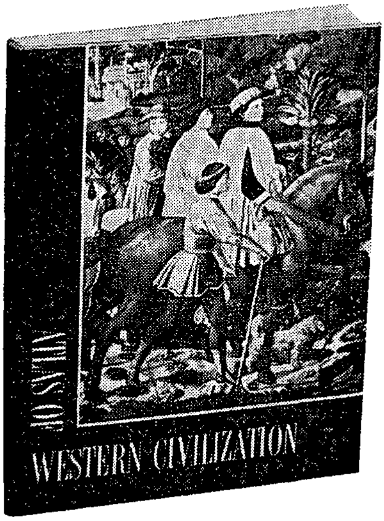

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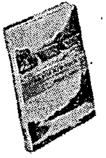

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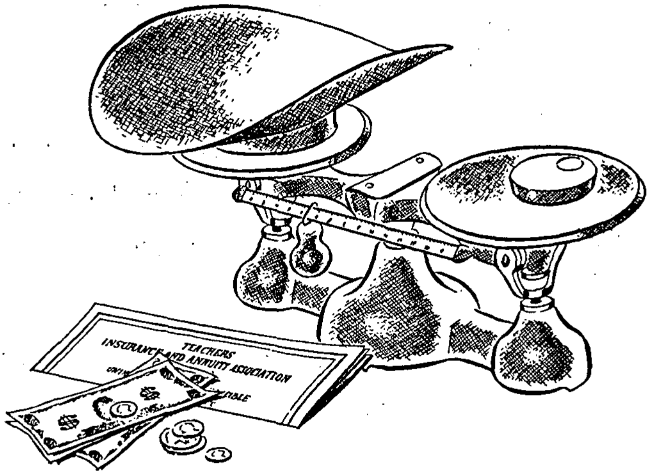

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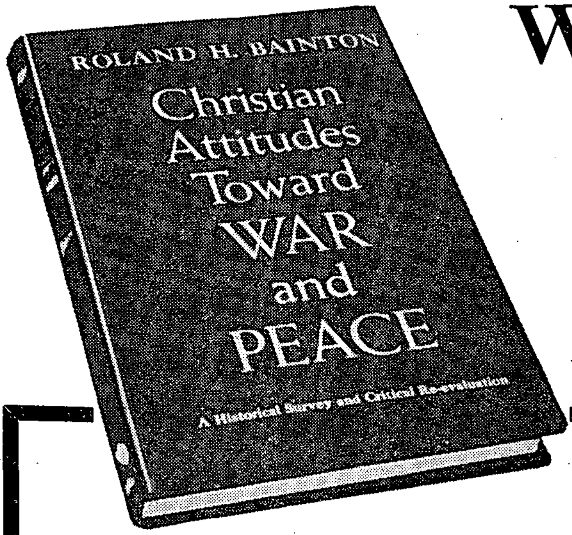
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